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## VERGIL'S *AENEID* AND THE IRISH *IMRAMA*: ZIMMER'S THEORY

The late Professor Zimmer's ingenious effort to show that the *imram* literature, which arose in Ireland in the seventh or eighth century, came into being as a result of direct imitation of the account of the adventures of Aeneas (*Aeneid* iii-v)<sup>1</sup> appears to have received but passing notice. Some students who have taken cognizance of the theory have apparently been somewhat skeptical as to its validity.<sup>2</sup> The problem is of interest in connection with studies in the classical origin of mediaeval types of literature, and has to do with a *genre* which is important because of the inherent charm of the stories

<sup>1</sup> H. Zimmer, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum (ZfDA)*, XXXIII (1889), 328 ff. The argument is one feature of Zimmer's efforts to stress the extent and significance of foreign influences upon early Irish literature. For a bibliography of Zimmer's works, as well as for references to other documents connected with early Irish literature referred to in this paper, see the excellent work of R. I. Best, *Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature*, Dublin, 1913 (*Bibliog.*). For supplementary references to Zimmer's work see *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie (C.Z.)*, VIII (1912), 593-94; IX (1913), 87 ff.; and *Revue Celtique (R.C.)*, XXXI (1910), 411.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Nutt (*Voyage of Bran* [London, 1895], I, 166, n. 2), A. C. L. Brown (*Harvard Studies and Notes [HSN]*, VIII [1903], 57, n. 1), Alfred Schulze (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXX [1906], 257), and W. A. Nitze (*Modern Philology*, XI [1913-14], 465, n. 1), are noncommittal in their references to Zimmer's theory. Nutt's and Brown's theories of the composition of *Maelduin*, however, are clearly inimical to Zimmer's position, and in a recent paper ("From Cauldron of Plenty to Grail," *Mod. Phil.*, XIV [1916-17], 388, n. 6), Brown says, "Zimmer . . . urged with little plausibility that this (*Maelduin*) and later *imrama* grew up under the influence of Vergil's *Aeneid*." To the skepticism toward Zimmer's theory indicated in class lectures by Professor T. P. Cross is due the interest leading to the present discussion. To Professor Cross I am also indebted for a number of valuable references and suggestions.

included and because of the wide influence exerted by one of them, the legend of Saint Brendan.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this paper is to attempt to show the unconvincing nature of Zimmer's arguments in favor of Vergilian influence. No effort is made to support, in any comprehensive way, the alternative hypothesis that the *genre* is an outgrowth, not only of Celtic material, but of native narrative methods.

The *imram* is a sea-voyage tale in which a hero, accompanied by a few companions, wanders about from island to island, meets Otherworld wonders everywhere, and finally returns to his native land. The stories commonly included in the *imram* canon are *Imram Brain maic Febail*, "The Voyage of Bran, son of Febal"; *Imram Curaig Maelduin*, "The Voyage of the Boat of Maelduin"; *Imram Curaig hua Corra*, "The Voyage of the Boat of the Húi Corra"; *Imram Brendain*, "The Voyage of Brendan"; and *Imram Snedgusa ocus mac Riagla*, "The Voyage of Snedgus and Mac Riagla."<sup>2</sup> To this list should be added *Echtra Clerech Choluim Cille*, "The Adventures of the Clerics of Columb Cille," a variant of *Snedgus and Mac Riagla*. The first in the list, *Imram Brain*, lacks the distinctive *imram* trait of the stressing of the adventurous voyage, and is perhaps best regarded as an earlier form of the Otherworld journey, which is chiefly concerned with the hero's adventures in the land of women. It is evident from Zimmer's arguments that he does not regard *Bran* as a true *imram*, and Alfred Nutt<sup>3</sup> and A. C. L. Brown<sup>4</sup> have apparently taken a similar view. *Bran* is older than the true *imrama*, as it dates, according to Zimmer<sup>5</sup> and Kuno Meyer,<sup>6</sup> from the seventh century. The oldest complete *imram* is probably *Maelduin*, which belongs to the seventh or eighth century.<sup>7</sup> It should be noted,

<sup>1</sup> The great influence of the Brendan legend upon continental mediaeval literature is reflected in the many studies of this *imram* (see *Bibliog.*, p. 115). Interesting speculations concerning the possible influence of the story upon early voyages of discovery, notably those of Christopher Columbus, appear in a paper by T. J. Westropp, *Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy*, XXX (1912-13), 223 ff. Cf. Gustav Schirmer, *Zur Brendanus-Legende*, Leipzig, 1888.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliog.*, pp. 115-16; Westropp, *op. cit.*, p. 226; Schirmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 ff., etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Voyage of Bran*, I, "The Happy Otherworld."

<sup>4</sup> *HSN*, VIII, 57-58; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 30, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 261.

<sup>6</sup> *Voyage of Bran*, I, xvi.

<sup>7</sup> Zimmer's conclusions, based largely on linguistic evidence, are supplemented by Nutt's convictions based on the folklore aspect of the question. These conclusions quite

however, that Zimmer, on linguistic evidence, regards *Húi Corra* as preserving in its earlier sections the text of a much older version, which probably antedated *Maelduin*.<sup>1</sup> The later *imrama*, *Snedgus* and *Mac Riagla*, *Clerics of Columb Cille*, *Brendan*, and *Húi Corra* (in its present form) show increasing effects of the Christianizing process apparent in *Maelduin*, and become associated with the "visions."<sup>2</sup>

A discussion of Zimmer's argument must be preceded by summaries of three stories chiefly concerned.

#### IMRAM BRAIN MAIC FEBAIL<sup>3</sup>

A mortal prince, Bran son of Febal, awakened by fairy music, learns, from a beautiful young woman, of the "glorious island" where all is beauty and joy and lasting life. The lady vanishes. Bran and twenty-seven companions set sail to seek the delightful place. They reach the Isle of Laughter, where one of Bran's men is irresistibly drawn into the circle of laughing folk. His friends cannot coax him away. The supernatural Manannan, son of Ler, directs them to the Island of Women. One hundred and fifty islands are mentioned as part of this fairy realm, but only one is visited.

"They saw the leader of the women at the port. Said the chief of the women: 'Come hither on land, O Bran son of Febal! Welcome is thy advent!' Bran did not venture to go on shore. The woman throws a ball of thread to Bran straight over his face. Bran put his hand on the ball, which clave to his palm. The thread of the ball was in the woman's hand, and she pulled the coracle towards the port. Thereupon they went into a large house, in which was a bed for every couple, even thrice nine beds. The food that was put on every dish vanished not from them. It seemed a year to them that they were there—it chanced to be many years. No savour was wanting to them."

Bran's kindred plead with the hero to return to Ireland, but Bran's mistress warns them against departure. Seeing them intent on going, she cautions them against touching the soil of their native land and directs them to recover the companion lost on the Isle of Laughter. They reach Ireland and find that they are remembered only by virtue of an ancient tale of their voyage. One of the crew leaps from the coracle to the shore and immediately becomes a heap of ashes. Bran tells the assembly on the shore of his wanderings, and returns to the sea. "And from that hour his wanderings are not known."

clearly dispose of the notion that *Maelduin* is later than *Brendan*, a view held by a number of writers: Stokes, *R.C.*, LX (1888), 450; F. Lot in D'Arbois de Jubainville's *Cours de littérature celtique*, V, 451-52. The opposing views are discussed by César Boer, *Romania*, XXII (1893), 578 ff.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> On this point see C. S. Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante* (London, 1908), p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Summarized from the translation by Kuno Meyer in *The Voyage of Bran*.

IMRAM CURAIG MAELDUIN<sup>1</sup>

Ailill Ocar has been killed by coast plunderers. His posthumous son, Maelduin, is reared at court with the three sons of the queen and is kept in ignorance of his real parentage. Taunted one day about his unknown father, the boy coaxes from the queen an explanation, is taken to his real mother, and learns that his father had been chief of the tribe of Owenaght of Ninus. With his three foster-brothers Maelduin goes to his father's former kingdom, and is welcomed by the people.

While casting stones one day over the charred remains of the church of Doolone, Maelduin is taunted for not revenging his father's death. Learning now of the murder, the young hero is fired with a desire for vengeance. The culprits are said to have a rendezvous a long way off over the ocean. Maelduin goes to Corcomroe to the druid Nuca to seek advice about building a currach for the trip and to ask a protective charm. He receives full instructions: he is told the exact day on which to begin the construction of his boat and the exact day on which to begin the voyage, and is enjoined to have a crew of sixty men, neither more nor less. After the boat has left the land the three foster-brothers, for some reason not included in the party, ask permission to accompany Maelduin. Mindful of the druid's words, the hero refuses the request, whereupon the importunate foster-brothers, reckless of their lives, swim after the boat. Maelduin in mercy takes them aboard.

Episode 1: Isle of the Murderers. Shortly after midnight two small fortified islands are reached, from which proceed sounds of revelry. Maelduin overhears one boast of his feat in killing Ailill and of the son's failure to exact vengeance. A squall at sea prevents landing and the currach is blown far away. The voyagers cease rowing and let the boat drift whither it please God. The foster-brothers are blamed for the ill luck.

Episode 2: Isle of Enormous Ants. Three days later, while casting lots to determine who shall explore an island, the men see a swarm of enormous ants, the size of foals, on their way to the currach, and flee.

Episode 3: Isle of Great Birds. A high terraced island. Many great birds in the trees. The crew eat their fill of the birds and take a supply on board.

Episode 4: Horselike Monster. A huge, horselike beast tries to lure them to land and pelts them with pebbles as they retire.

Episode 5: Demons' Horse Race. A great flat island, showing vast hoofmarks. Enormous nuts on the ground. From the boat the crew observe a noisy horse race, and think there is here a meeting of demons.

<sup>1</sup> Summarized from the translation of Whitley Stokes, *R.C.*, IX (1888), 447-95, and X (1889), 50-95. The story appears in whole or in part in four manuscripts: the Book of the Dun Cow ([LU], before 1106); the Yellow Book of Lecan ([YBL], fourteenth and fifteenth centuries); Harleian 5280 ([H], fifteenth century); and Egerton 1782 (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries). YBL and H contain verse paraphrases which are not printed or translated by Stokes in *R.C.*, but which may be found in *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, I (Dublin, 1907), 50 ff.



Episode 6: Empty Banquet Hall. Hungry and thirsty after a week's rowing, the voyagers discover a high island. On the shore is a large house. A subaqueous door is closed by a valve of stone through an opening in which the waves fling hosts of salmon. In the house the men notice beds, food, and drink. They dine, thank God, and depart.

Episode 7: The Wondrous Fruit. Passing a wood-rimmed island, Maelduin seizes a rod from a tree. Three days later the rod bears a cluster of three apples, each apple sufficing the crew for food during forty days.

Episode 8: Feat-performing Beast. A huge beast races about a stone-fenced island. Halting on a height, it performs various feats, such as turning about in its skin. It flings stones at the men as they flee.

Episode 9: Fighting Horses. On this island the ground is bloody. Fierce horses are biting pieces from one another's sides.

Episode 10: Fiery Beasts and Golden Apples. Swinelike animals strike trees with their hind legs to shake down golden apples. The beasts retire, and birds come swimming about and partake of the fruit. The earth is hot, owing to the presence of the magic animals in the caverns; nevertheless, the men gather many apples, which forbid hunger and thirst.

Episode 11: The Guardian Cat. Again in hunger, the voyagers reach a small island containing a fort surrounded with a high white rampart. Outside the fort is a large house inhabited only by a small cat. In a gorgeously furnished room the men find food prepared. After the feast the "third" foster-brother attempts to carry away a necklace, but the cat leaps through him like a fiery arrow, and the thief is turned to ashes. Maelduin placates the cat, spreads the ashes on the sea, and departs "praising and magnifying God."

Episode 12: Black and White Sheep. A brazen palisade bisects the island. On one side are white sheep; on the other, black. Every sheep flung across the palisade by the giant herdsman changes color to correspond to its new environment. Rods which Maelduin casts ashore also change color. He departs in fear.

Episode 13: Giant Herdsman. Here are magic swine, enormous calves, and a burning river. Across a mountain a huge herdsman is seen guarding great hornless oxen. He remonstrates with an intruder from the boat. (This incident is apparently incomplete.)

Episode 14: Miller of Hell. A hideous miller grinds everything grudgingly given, amounting to half the grain of Ireland.

Episode 15: Isle of Weeping. A second foster-brother is here drawn into the charmed circle of weeping human beings, and is lost.

Episode 16: Isle of Four Fences. The four compartments of this isle are occupied by kings, warriors, queens, and maidens. One of the maidens welcomes the voyagers and gives them drink and food having any desired savour. Intoxicated by the drink, the mortals sleep three days. When they awake, in their boat at sea, the isle has disappeared.

**Episode 17: The Chaste Maiden.** A barrier consisting of a glass bridge which falls backward as visitors try to ascend it protects a fortress. A woman comes from the fortress and fills her pail from a magic fountain at the foot of the bridge. Magic music lulls the mortals to sleep. When the maiden reappears she is asked to become Maelduin's mistress. She replies, "Marvelously valuable do I deem Maelduin." The third day she again refuses the proffer of love, promising a definite answer the next day; but when the morrow dawns the men again find themselves alone at sea.

**Episode 18: Chanting Birds.** The singing of birds here suggests the chanting of psalms.

**Episode 19: Lonely Pilgrim.** A lonely shipwrecked Irish pilgrim inhabits a wooded isle which has miraculously grown from a single sod. The birds are the souls of the pilgrim's kindred who are awaiting doomsday. The old man, clad only in his hair, is fed daily, by angels, with half a cake, a slice of fish, and liquor from a magic well. There are three days of guesting, after which the old man prophesies, "Ye shall all reach your country save one man."

**Episode 20: Magic Fountain.** A white isle with a golden rampart is inhabited by an old cleric clad only in his hair. He is fed from a magic fount which yields whey or water on Fridays and Wednesdays, milk on Sundays and ordinary feast days, and ale on the feast days of the apostles, of Mary, and of John the Baptist. The men eat a half-cake and a piece of fish, drink from the magic fount, and fall into a heavy sleep. There are three days of guesting before the cleric orders the visitors to go.

**Episode 21: Savage Smiths.** The voyagers hear the sound of anvils and hear smiths on an isle talking of the strangers' approach. Turning the stern of their boat toward sea to conceal retreat, the men flee. The chief smith casts a molten mass at the boat, making the sea boil.

**Episode 22: Sea of Glass.** Maelduin passes over a beautiful magic sea resembling green glass.

**Episode 23: Cloudlike Sea and Buried Country.** In this underground realm appears a huge beast in a tree. Other animals are near by. The beast frightens away an armed man and seizes an ox. The frightened Irishmen hurry away.

**Episode 24: Cliffs of Water and Terrified Islanders.** At the approach of the party the inhabitants exclaim, "It is they." A woman pelts them with large nuts. The screams cease as the voyagers retire.

**Episode 25: Water-Arch and Salmon.** Salmon fall from an arch of water spanning an isle. Maelduin is thus supplied with food.

**Episode 26: Silver Column and Net.** Rising from the water is a high silver column. From the summit flies a silver net reaching to the sea. Diuran, one of the crew, cuts a piece of net as a souvenir. A voice from the summit speaks in an unknown tongue.

Episode 27: Island on Pedestal. A subaqueous door supplies the only entrance to this strange isle. A plow is seen on top of the island.

Episode 28: The Amorous Queen. A large island with a fortress and a great plain. Seventeen grown girls are seen preparing a bath. Maelduin and his men sit on a hillock opposite the fortress. A gorgeously attired woman approaches on horseback, dismounts, goes into the fortress, and enters the bath. A girl welcomes Maelduin's party in the name of the queen. The men enter, bathe, and go into the feast hall. After the feast the queen takes Maelduin to her bed, the companions pairing off with the seventeen daughters. Next morning the visitors are invited to remain, the queen promising them immortality and perennial joys. She explains that when her husband, the king, died she assumed the reign, and every day judges the people in the plain. The visitors remain three months, which seem three years. Maelduin reluctantly yields to the request of his men to return to Ireland; but when he attempts to leave, the queen throws after him a magic clew, which adheres to the hero's hand. The queen thus draws the boat back to the shore. After another long stay the incident is repeated. On the next occasion, Maelduin, accused of insincerity by his companions, has another catch the clew, cuts off the engaged hand, and throws it into the sea. The party escapes, and the queen sets up a great cry.

Episode 29: Intoxicating Fruit. Maelduin makes wine from berries growing on the next isle visited. The wine is so strong that it must be diluted with water.

Episode 30: Mystic Lake and Great Bird. A small church, a fortress, a forest, and a lake are features of this island, which is inhabited only by an old cleric, clothed in his hair, who says he is the fifteenth man of the community of Brennan of Birr, who had gone on an ocean pilgrimage and settled here. A great bird bearing a branch with grapelike berries alights on a hill near the lake. At noons two great eagles come and pick lice from the big bird's plumage, crush the berries, and make a red foam in the lake. The huge bird bathes. The next day the attendant birds sleek up the plumage of the great bird and depart. At the end of the third day the great bird flies away with its youth renewed. Diuran the Rhymer boldly plunges into the lake and sips the water. Thereafter his eyes were strong, he lost neither tooth nor hair, and suffered no weakness.

Episode 31: Isle of Laughing. The third foster-brother is lost in a group of laughing folk.

Episode 32: Isle of the Blest. A fiery rampart revolves about an island whereon are beautiful human beings with golden vessels and garments.

Episode 33: The Hermit of Sea Rock. A hermit clothed only in his hair is prostrating himself on a rock in the midst of the sea. He proves to be a dishonest church cook from Torach. He had been led to penitence by the voice of a pious corpse, and had undertaken a penitential sea voyage. After

miraculously escaping demons, he was cast upon this rock, which gradually grew in size. He had been miraculously supplied with food and drink, the latter improving in quality after seven years. He feeds the visitors and prophesies that they will reach home after finding the slayer of Maelduin's father, whom Maelduin is warned to forgive.

Episode 34: Signs of Home. An island with cattle and sheep is visited. An Irish falcon appears and the voyagers follow it.

Episode 35: Isle of the Murderers. Again the adventurers overhear the murderers speaking of Maelduin. They report him dead, but would welcome him should he appear. The hero makes himself known and he and his men receive new garments. They tell of their wanderings and of the marvels God has shown them, "according to the word of the sacred poet, '*haec olim meminisse iurabit.*'" After the return to Ireland, Diuran places the piece of silver net on the altar at Armagh.

"Now Aed the Fair, chief sage of Ireland, arranged this story as it standeth here, and he did so for delighting the mind and for the folk of Ireland after him."

#### IMRAM CURAIG HUA CORRA<sup>1</sup>

A prosperous Connaught man, named Conall the Red, and his wife, Caerdeg, daughter of a cleric, are childless. They "fast upon" the Devil and devote themselves to him. Three sons are born in one night and are given "heathen baptism." They are carefully nourished and are kept in ignorance of their preordained diabolic connections. One day they overhear older persons speak of the consecration of the boys to the Devil, and decide to be about their master's business. For a year they burn churches and kill clerics, finally visiting their grandfather. In the night one of the three, Lechan, is shown a vision of heaven and hell. The boys repent and are told to rebuild the destroyed churches. They perform this labor, and are seized one day with a longing to explore the wonders of the sea and to seek heaven across the waves.

As the adventurers are about to embark, a company of entertainers arrives, one of whom, the buffoon, wishes to join the Húi Corra. He is refused permission until he pleads "for God's sake," whereupon he is received, naked. The men commit their cause to God and the winds, and drift westward. They reach the Isle of Grieving Men, where one of the crew is lost. By visiting the Isle of Fragrant Apples they are freed from appetite, wound and disease, and pass on to the Isle of Gaiety, where a second companion is lost. They see many wonders: isle of one foot, rainbow river, silver pillar, isle of cleric Dega, isle of living and dead, flagstones of hell, isle of brazen palisade, wonderful birds, sea-rivers, isle of the harper, isle of Sabbath-desecrator, miller of hell, horse of fire, isle of dishonest smiths and

<sup>1</sup> Summarized from Stokes' translation, *R.C.*, XIV (1893), 22-63.

braziers, fiery giant, fiery sea of serpents and men's heads, isle of rest, community of St. Ailbe, psalm singer, solitary elder, and a deserter disciple of Christ. The last-named is an Irish cleric who predicts the future fortunes of the party. In the island of Britain is to be left a gillie from whom the bishop of Rome is to learn the story of the voyage of the boat of the sons of Corra. "And so it happened."

*Imram Snedgusa ocus maic Riagla*,<sup>1</sup> *Echtra Clerech Choluim Cille*,<sup>2</sup> and *Imram Brendain*<sup>3</sup> do not require summary here. The several *imrama* are similar in general structure, and are interrelated through the inclusion of similar episodic matter and through the common use of many stock motives of Celtic traditional literature. *Maelduin* and *Bran*, for instance, have the isle of laughter and the Otherworld mistress who draws her lover to her isle by a ball of thread. *Maelduin* and *Húi Corra* have the isle of laughter, the isle of weeping, the miller of hell, the woman drawing water at the magic fount, the wonderful apples, the isle of four compartments, the pedestal island, the rainbow river, and the silver pillar. The hero *Maelduin* is specifically referred to in *Húi Corra*.<sup>4</sup> *Maelduin* and *Brendan* have the isle of singing birds, walled islands, and monsters. *Húi Corra* and *Brendan* have the buffoon who implores "for God's sake." *Bran* and *Brendan* have the four-footed island, the birds that sing the hours, and the mention of "one hundred and fifty" isles.<sup>5</sup>

Zimmer admits that the material in these stories is drawn mainly from Celtic sources.<sup>6</sup> He holds that the *imram* as a narrative type, however, is due to the influence of the *Aeneid*.

The suggestion of the great German scholar receives some support from the fact that the cultural background of the Irish storytellers of the sixth and following centuries was such that a borrowing from the classics was entirely possible. The authors of the time not

<sup>1</sup> The YBL text is printed with a translation and notes by Stokes, *R.C.*, IX (1888), 14-25. A German translation appears in R. Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 127-30.

<sup>2</sup> YBL text ed. and trans., Stokes, *R.C.*, XXVI (1905), 130-67.

<sup>3</sup> Text from the Book of Lismore printed and translated by Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford, 1890), pp. 99-116 (text), and 247-61 (translation).

<sup>4</sup> *R.C.*, XIV (1893), 45.

<sup>5</sup> Similar comparisons have been made by Zimmer, Nutt, Brown, and Westropp, in the works cited; and by Stokes, *R.C.*, XIV, 24.

<sup>6</sup> ZFDA, XXXIII, 331. A partial enumeration of parallels between material in the *imrama* and that in other Celtic literature may be found in the discussions of Nutt, Brown, Westropp, and Zimmer.

only inherited a wealth of native narrative material and a well-developed artistic tradition, but had also a background of Christian and classical learning. It seems established that after the flight of scholars from Continental Europe before the barbarian invaders of the fifth century, Ireland became the repository of classical learning for Western Europe and a center for the fostering and dissemination of Christian culture. A little later came a period of great missionary activity, and Ireland seems to have been largely responsible for the re-Christianizing of Europe. For several centuries the fame of Irish culture was great.<sup>1</sup> That the Irish universities in which the Christian writers studied gave considerable training in the classics may be admitted.<sup>2</sup> Professor Meyer has pointed out also that the Irish scholars, having received classical learning at a time when it was the natural study of every educated person, were not troubled as to the fitness of classical pagan literature for Christian scholars by any scruples such as disturbed their Continental brethren.<sup>3</sup> On the popularity of the *Aeneid* in Ireland Zimmer has assembled interesting evidence.<sup>4</sup> *Imram Maelduin* itself actually quotes Vergil;<sup>5</sup> but the passage may of course be an insertion by a transcriber.

The existence of this Christian and classical culture, however, was not inimical to the preservation of the pagan lore of pre-Christian Ireland. The confusion of pagan and Christian conceptions in

<sup>1</sup> On this general subject see Zimmer's illuminating treatise, "Ueber die Bedeutung des irischen Elements für die mittelalterliche Cultur," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, LIX (1887), 27-59. This study has been translated by Jane L. Edmonds, *The Irish Element in Medieval Culture*, New York, 1891. See also Professor Kuno Meyer's more recent study, *Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century and the Transmission of Letters* (Dublin, 1913), and Taylor, *Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1901), esp. pp. 44 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Zimmer, *Irish Element*, pp. 19 ff.; Meyer, *Learning in Ireland*, pp. 11, and 26, n. 35. For a negative view of the knowledge of Greek in Ireland, outweighed, however, by the more authoritative utterances of Professor Meyer, see M. Esposito, "The Knowledge of Greek in Ireland during the Middle Ages," *Studies*, I, No. 4, December, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> *Learning in Ireland*, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 326-27. Zimmer regards the famous St. Gall manuscript containing a fragment of Vergil's work as an Irish document carried to the Continent by Irish scholars; he calls attention to the fame of Ruman mac Colman, "The Irish Vergil"; and he cites the frequency of the appearance of the name *Pe(i)rgil* in the *Annals of the Four Masters* as a testimony of the popularity of the great Roman poet. Zimmer's later attempt to identify the Irish name *Ferchertne* with the name *Vergil* in an effort to show that the fifth-century Gaulish grammarian "Virgilius Maro" had visited Ireland (*Sitzungsber. der kgl. preuss. Akad.*, X [1910], 1056 ff.) has been shown by Professor Meyer (*Learning in Ireland*, p. 24, n. 19) to be based upon a wrong derivation of the Irish name.

<sup>5</sup> *R.C.*, X, 92.



much early Irish literature,<sup>1</sup> and indeed the very survival of the enormous mass of pagan material through the centuries of Christian transcribing testify sufficiently to the kindliness with which the learned Christian writers looked upon their inheritance of pagan Celtic tradition. A resort to native narrative models in a story consisting in the main of native materials would seem, therefore, at least equally as natural on the part of an early *imram* writer as a resort to a foreign model.<sup>2</sup>

The possible presence in the *imrama* of classical reminiscence in the handling of episodic detail demands notice. The significance of such classical material depends largely upon its extent and upon the closeness with which it approaches its supposed classical sources. To be of much use in supporting Zimmer's theory, parallels should be numerous and close. Zimmer's argument assumes that the Vergilian influence had had its full effect on the formation of the type by the time *Maelduin* was completed. Classical reminiscence in the other *imrama*, all of which are later than *Maelduin*, could therefore give little support to Zimmer's contention. A few parallels between *Maelduin* and the classics have been cited, some of which at least are too remote to be significant.

Stokes<sup>3</sup> compares Calypso's words, "I loved and cherished him [Odysseus], and often said that I would make him an immortal, young forever," with the speech of the amorous queen in *Maelduin* (Episode 28), "Stay here, and age will not fall on you, but the age that ye have attained. And lasting life ye shall have always; and what came to you last night shall come to you every night without any labor." The parallel is interesting in connection with speculations concerning possible common origins for conceptions appearing

<sup>1</sup> An example is the use of the term *tír inna m-béo* in both the pagan sense (the land of living ones) and in the Christian sense (*terra repromissionis*): Zimmer, *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 287-88; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910), I, clxxxii, n. 11; Nutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-27.

<sup>2</sup> A summary of an unpublished paper presented before the Modern Language Association in 1909 on "Classical Tradition in Medieval Irish Literature," by Dr. E. G. Cox, reads thus: "Despite the wide acquaintance possessed by the medieval Irish with classical literature and traditions, their narrative methods, subject-matter, and spirit remained comparatively unaffected. Rather, the balance of influence inclines the other way. The causes lie perhaps in the stability of the Irish style of narrative, in the recognized position of the bardic profession, and in the lenient attitude adopted by the clerics towards the myths and tales of their countrymen." (*Publications*, XVIII [1910], Appendix, xxiii.)

<sup>3</sup> *R.C.*, IX, 449.

in both Greek and Celtic tradition; but since the conferring of immortality upon mortal lovers by their Otherworld mistresses is a stock feature of stories dealing with the Otherworld,<sup>1</sup> the suggestion of direct indebtedness in this case could carry little weight. Stokes' parallel between the incidents of the savage smiths in *Maelduin* (Episode 21), and the Cyclops in the *Odyssey* is somewhat more striking, yet cannot be regarded as proof of direct borrowing.<sup>2</sup> The existence of like situations in classical literature and in Irish stories of a similar class may, on the other hand, suggest a possible primitive store of legend from which both Greeks and Celts drew.

Other comparisons suggested by Stokes, obviously less plausible as indications of borrowing, may be enumerated without comment. Possible parallels in Lucian and Megasthenes are cited for such details as the necessity of tempering the wine of the intoxicating fruit (Episode 29), the enormous nuts (Episode 24), the huge ants (Episode 2), the beasts which shake fruit trees with their tails (Episode 10), and the ox-eating serpent (Episode 23). Zimmer calls attention to the apparent influence of the Phoenix legend on Episode 30. C. S. Boswell in his book on the vision of St. Adamnan<sup>3</sup> suggests *Aeneid* vi. 642-43 as a possible inspiration for the horse-racing incident in Episode 5. Zimmer, however, attributes this detail to Scandinavian influences.<sup>4</sup>

Actual proof of the presence of classical reminiscence of this sort, however, would not be definitive in its bearing upon our problem, because nothing would be more natural than for a learned Irish writer of the period to incorporate, in a story belonging to a type of native origin and growth, certain situations which he had come upon in classical stories, especially if he found them in pieces similar in

<sup>1</sup> Examples in the older stories appear in *Bran* and in *Echtra Conla Chaim*, "The Adventures of Connla." For a translation of *Connla* into German, see Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, pp. 73-80; for one into French, see D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours*, V, 385 ff. The trait in question of course appears in later stories, e.g., *Laoiadh Oisín ar Thír na n-Óg*, "The Lay of Oisín on the Land of Youths" (*Transactions Ossianic Society*, IV [1856, printed 1859], 234 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> The account of the Cyclops in *Merugud Uilix maice Leirís*, "The Wandering of Ulysses, son of Laertes" (ed. Kuno Meyer [London, 1886], pp. 18-20), is so different in detail from the *Odyssey* account—though like it in general outlines—as to make it certain that the Irish narrator did not work from a copy of the *Odyssey*. The piece occurs in Stowe MS 992, written 1300 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> *An Irish Precursor of Dante* (London, 1908), p. 152.

<sup>4</sup> *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 324.

character to his own composition. That the presence of a non-Celtic trait here and there in a Celtic tale does not affect the essentially Celtic character of the story is a point that has already been made.<sup>1</sup>

Zimmer finds his closest parallels to the *Aeneid* in *Maelduin* and the early section of *Húi Corra*, which, it will be recalled, he regards as the oldest bits of *imram* literature, the early section of *Húi Corra* antedating *Maelduin*. The episodic material, he says, is drawn mainly from Irish sagas of the pagan period, preserved in the recollections of the people through the classical period, partly from classical reminiscence and partly from the accounts of the experiences of Irish fishermen and anchorites. The peculiar structural form of the stories is due to the use of the *Aeneid* as a pattern by some "*irischen Vergile*."<sup>2</sup> This last contention he supports by drawing the following parallels:

1. Aeneas consults an augury at the beginning of his journey (*Aeneid* iii. 79). So Maelduin, before beginning his voyage, goes to Corcomroe to consult the druid Nuca.

2. The account of the amorous queen (*Maelduin*, Episode 28), though Irish material, shows Vergilian influence in mode of treatment. The "first lady" of the island of women in such stories as *Connla* and *Bran* is transformed into a widowed queen in *Maelduin* in imitation of Dido. The mistresses of Bran and Connla are unmarried, ever young in their loves: "was macht nun der verf. von Imram Maelduin daraus? eine königswittwe—Didos verstorbener gemahl hiess Sychaeus—mit 17 töchtern; sie herrscht über ein grosses volk und ist täglich von ihren herscherpflichten in anspruch genommen. dem Maelduin sagt sie: 'bleibt hier, und nicht soll alter über euch kommen als das alter, in dem ihr seid, und ewiges leben immerdar wird euch sein.' dies ist alte anschauung von *fir namban*. dann erzählt sie, dass ihr mann, dem sie 17 töchter geboren, gestorben sei! natürlich, nur so konnte eine wittwe wie Dido herauskommen; wäre nicht eine nachahmung beabsichtigt, so wäre der krasse widerspruch unerklärlich. nur die nachahmung der mächtigen königin konnte dazu führen, auf *inis namban* ausser den frauen noch ein grosses volk zu denken. ferner: Maelduin hatte ein jahr lang die königin, die mutter von 17 erwachsenen töchtern als bettgenossin, während seine gefährten sich in die jungen mädchen teilten. Bran erhält als führer natürlich auch die erste unter den frauen (*taisech namban*), aber dies war keine mutter von 17 töchtern, sondern ein ewig junges weib wie die anderen. die scenen, wie die königin den Maelduin zurückzuhalten sucht,

<sup>1</sup> T. F. Cross, *R.C.*, XXXI (1910), 429. Cross refers also to Schoffeld, *PMLA*, XVI, (1901), 424.

<sup>2</sup> Zimmer's phrase, *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 328.

sind aus irischem material; es ist die schilderung verwertet, wie Bran landet. gewaltsame versuche, den Bran zurückzuhalten, werden nicht gemacht, offenbar weil der sage nur freiwilliges verweilen im lande der frauen entspricht. auch diese umgestaltung muss einen zweck gehabt haben, welcher wie der aller umgestaltungen der alten sage in der beabsichtigten nachahmung Vergils zu suchen ist."<sup>1</sup>

3. Aeneas, before meeting Dido, meets a countryman, Helenus, who is also a seer and utters a prophecy concerning the outcome of the journey. Likewise Maelduin, before reaching the isle of the widowed queen (Episode 28), meets a countryman who prophesies as to the outcome of the voyage (Episode 19). Similarly, after leaving Dido and before reaching Italy, Aeneas meets a countryman, Acestes. Likewise Maelduin, after leaving the isle of women and before reaching Ireland, meets another countryman (Episode 30).

4. Between the visits to Helenus and Dido, Aeneas has the adventure with Polyphemus and the Cyclops. So Maelduin, between the visit to the first countryman (Episode 19) and to the widowed queen (Episode 28), has the adventure with the smiths (Episode 21). Further, the questioning smith in *Maelduin* is thought of as blind. Traits in Episode 13 (Giant Herdsman) may also be classical reminiscences from the same sources.

5. Between the visit to Acestes and the reaching of the limit of the journey by Aeneas lies the death of Palinurus (*Aeneid* v. 827 ff.). Likewise Maelduin, between the visit to his countryman (Episode 30) and the reaching of his goal (Episode 34), loses his third foster-brother (Episode 31). The peculiar circumstance that in *Maelduin* three men later join the crew and die upon the trip, while in *Húi Corra* one follows and dies, can be understood if both narratives be regarded as written under the influence, or after the pattern, of the *Aeneid*. The naked buffoon who implores the Húi Corra, as they prepare for their trip, to take him along "for God's sake," corresponds to the wretched follower of Ulysses who abjured the departing Aeneas *per sidera* to take him. During the whole seven-year journey of Aeneas only one of the hero's companions meets an unnatural death, namely, Palinurus, who is the sacrifice demanded by Neptune. Now if one grants that an Irish scholar introduced the notion that Palinurus must die to make up for the additional member of the crew taken on [the Odyssean wretch], then the Irish imitations of the journey of Aeneas are clear. The association of the loss of Palinurus with the taking on of the follower of Ulysses serves as the basis for the incident in *Húi Corra*, and makes clear to us how the author of *Maelduin* came to have three additional journeyers figure in the story instead of one. The addition is a variation by the author of *Maelduin* for which he perhaps puzzled out a justification from Vergil: only one man, Palinurus, dies an unnatural death during the journey, and that toward its close; about

<sup>1</sup> ZFDA, XXXIII, 328-29.

the middle of the trip Anchises dies, and at the beginning of the trip stands the incident of the unfortunate Polydorus, dying, as it were, a second time; so one may speak of three deaths, during the journey, of persons closely associated with the hero. Corresponding to this, under the hypothesis created by *Húi Corra* as to the cause of the death of one companion, three additional journeyers must be taken aboard in *Maelduin*.

Such is Zimmer's case. The argument for the influence of the *Aeneid* resolves itself into two main contentions: that the incident of the amorous queen in *Maelduin* was molded by the Dido-Aeneas story (point 2); and that *Maelduin* and the old (lost) version of *Húi Corra* derive their structural form from the *Aeneid* (points 1, 3, 4, 5). Neither contention seems convincing.

The suggestion that *Maelduin's* mistress is a Celtic fairy transformed into a Dido is neither a necessary nor a plausible explanation of her character. Although Zimmer refers to her as a fairy creature, his argument ignores her essentially fairy character. That a Celtic fairy mistress, the mother of seventeen grown daughters, is still desirable is not at all strange, because by her nature she is immortally young. In *Tochmarc Etdáine*, "Wooring of Etain," a very old story, Etain must have been more than a thousand years old while being quarreled over by her lovers.<sup>1</sup> In *Acallamh na Senórach*, "Colloquy of Old Men" (11, 3893 ff.), which, though late material, doubtless preserves a mass of early tradition, Caeilte explains to Patrick that their young fairy visitor is "of the *tuatha dé danaan*, who are unfading and whose duration is perennial."<sup>2</sup>

The widowhood and queenship of *Maelduin's* mistress Zimmer thinks due to the use of Dido as a model. But the first ladies in the Irish Otherworld stories of the *Bran* and *Connla* type are all queens, and Fand in *Serglige Conculaind*,<sup>3</sup> "The Sickbed of Cuchullin," is not only a queen, but a "grass widow": she has been divorced by Manannan before becoming Cuchullin's mistress. *Maelduin's* companions must have mistresses. These mistresses must be subordinated to *Maelduin's* mistress. Making them daughters is a

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances*, I, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Stokes ed., *Irish Texts*, IV, 1. The quotation is from O'Grady's translation in *Silva Gadelica*, II (1892), 203.

<sup>3</sup> Leahy, *Heroic Romances*, I, 57 ff. This story also furnishes a parallel for the presence of other persons than women in the island elysium, a feature in *Maelduin* which Zimmer attributes to the influence of the *Aeneid*. The shorter *Fled Bricrend* supplies another example.

simple device for the purpose. Since all were fairy women, the conception carried no incongruity. Moreover, it is questionable whether a conscious imitator would change a Celtic mistress into a widow to make her like Dido, and almost in the same breath give her seventeen daughters, a markedly un-Didoesque characteristic.

Although the reluctance of Maelduin's mistress to allow her lover to leave her is somewhat more pronounced than the similar attitudes of the mistresses in other Irish sagas, the difference seems purely one of degree. Instead of contenting herself with a warning to the mortal that he would rue an attempt to return to his former abode, as in *Bran*, the lady takes active steps to prevent the return. For this purpose she uses precisely the device Bran's mistress had used to entice Bran to her isle. The inversion of the function of the clew incident, or rather the change in its position in the story, may be due to a confusion on the part of some writer, or to a desire for variety. It is not impossible that the inversion accounts for the seeming parallel to Dido's behavior—a process the very reverse of that supposed by Zimmer. It is to be remembered, too, that there is no sufficient evidence to show any direct relationship between *Bran* and *Maelduin*.<sup>1</sup> The fairy's effort to retain her lover needs no resort to sophisticated literature for an explanation, inasmuch as the inability of the mortal captured by the fairies to return to his former sphere of existence is a recognized trait in fairy lore.<sup>2</sup> The maleficent powers of fairy creatures were, of course, understood. In *Echtra Condla Chaim* King Conn tries to dispel, by resorting to druids, the invisible fairy lady who is trying to entice away his son Connla.<sup>3</sup>

Zimmer rests his argument for structural imitation upon the citation of supposedly parallel incidents appearing at corresponding stages of the journeys of Aeneas and Maelduin. The author whose organizing hand is responsible for the *Maelduin* narrative in substantially its present form is, therefore, the man who worked under Vergilian influence. This consideration is important, because it forces the rejection, by any advocate of Zimmer's theory, of most forms of the theory of composite origin. The delicate mechanism

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nutt, *op. cit.*, I, 172.

<sup>2</sup> Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales* (New York, 1891), pp. 43, 47, 196 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, p. 75.



devised for the story by the author, who, under stress of Vergilian influence, placed his incidents with such extreme care (note especially points 3, 4, and 5), could scarcely have survived if later narrators or transcribers had done much in the way of addition or alteration. Nor could a holder of Zimmer's view admit the supposition that a single author, working under Vergilian influence, gave final form to a story already existing; for such a hypothesis would assume the practically complete development of the type before the operation of the supposed foreign influence. Features showing the alleged influence of the *Aeneid*, such as the presence of the foster-brothers, intimately connected as they are with the taboo motive, seem too important organically to admit an assumption that they were inserted by a compiler who was trying to inject a Vergilian flavor into an already existing story.

Yet the theory of composite origin must be looked upon with favor. The crude accumulation of wonders and adventures, obvious to any reader, and the striking repetition of situations and motives, surely seem to support it. Nutt<sup>1</sup> and Brown<sup>2</sup> find traces of several damsel-land stories which have been put together by the compiler of *Maelduin*. Some repetitions of detail may be noted: a cleric clothed only in his hair, Episodes 19, 20, 30, and 33; almost the whole of Episode 19 reappears in Episode 20; trees with birds, Episodes 3, 10, 18, and 19; subaqueous entrance, 6 and 27; miraculous supply of salmon, 6 and 25; cheeselike food having any desired savour, 16 and 17; gradual miraculous enlargement of an island, 19 and 33; vanishing of Otherworld as mortals sleep, 16 and 17; beds for "every three," 6 and 17; island inhabitants overheard talking of visitors' approach, 21, 24, and 34; missiles cast at voyagers, 4, 8, and 24. The confusion in the number of the company and the slip in twice recording the loss of a "third" foster-brother (Episodes 11 and 31) also suggest the compilatory character of the account. The druid had suggested sixty (the number found in *Brendan*) as the required number of the crew; but it is evident that the sixty has been changed

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 164 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, VIII (1903), 66-69. Brown prints a table dividing the story into five groups, in each of which he finds the repetition of certain stock features of the Celtic Otherworld journey. Group IV (Eps. 18-28) he regards as the original kernel of the whole, or as the most complete of several variants put together to make a whole. Cf. also *Mod. Phil.*, XIV (1916), 388.

to sixteen, for in Episode 28, after the loss of two of the foster-brothers, the hero has seventeen companions.

Although almost any theory of the compilatory nature of *Maelduin* would seem hostile to Zimmer's contentions, it is possible to suggest a process of composite origin that would still admit of a Vergil-inspired author-compiler. We may suppose that the author had before him various stories of Otherworld adventures, perhaps of the type of *Bran* or *Connla* or *Serglige Conculaind*, in none of which was there any pronounced stressing of the distinctive *imram* trait of rowing about almost endlessly from island to island. Each story contained a single Otherworld, the furniture of which, as Brown suggests, the *Maelduin* author distributed among the various islands he included in his descriptions. In the process of assembling these materials he made use of the *Aeneid* pattern. Later transcribers could not be assumed to have made any radical changes.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps a query concerning the psychological processes involved in Zimmer's theory of the composition of *Maelduin* and the old *Húi Corra* is not out of place before an examination is made of Zimmer's structural argument in detail. Did the Irish Vergil expect his audience to recognize his imitation of the Aeneas story? If not, why the imitation? Could it be that a delicate sense for the niceties of structural art impelled him to satisfy his own artistic conscience by following, however vaguely so far as his reader was concerned, certain structural features of his model? It may be answered that the failure of the alleged borrowings to redeem the story from the blemish of a lack of fine literary form, the presence of tiresome and awkward repetitions, and the failure to take from the supposed model structural points of really significant character, argue against the assumption of such a personality. It is also hard to believe that the author was a superstitious fellow who thought the sly insertion of unrecognizable Vergilian traits would somehow add to the attractiveness of his story.

If Vergil were as popular in Ireland as Zimmer argues,<sup>2</sup> and the author of *Maelduin* consciously imitated Vergil, he most certainly

<sup>1</sup> Yet Nutt thinks additions and interpolations may have been made as late as the tenth century (*op. cit.*, I, 163, n. 1), and Brown accepts this view (*Med. Phil.*, XIV, 388).

<sup>2</sup> *SPDA*, XXXIII, 326-27.

would have made such borrowings as he would expect to be recognized. It seems indeed strange, therefore, that the borrowings should have remained unnoticed, so far as is known, for more than a thousand years. Zimmer appears to have been the first to detect them. The succeeding *imram* writers seem not to have preserved the "Vergilian" features. One would at least expect some Vergilian traits to show in *Húi Corra*. Zimmer thinks that the early part of this *imram* was written under Vergilian influence, and that the naked buffoon is a counterpart of Achaemenides. The motive of the resort to a druid, present in *Maelduin* because of Aeneas' consulting of the oracle, does not appear in *Húi Corra*. Since it would necessarily come earlier in the story than the buffoon incident, which the old section of *Húi Corra* extends far enough to include, this trait could not have been in the original version. There are no smiths in *Húi Corra*. There is no single hero. There is no love affair. The single appearance of the land of women (Episode 54) is like Episodes 16 and 17 of *Maelduin* rather than Episode 28. There is no approach to the Aeneas-Dido situation. The deaths on the trip occur in the same part of the story (Episodes 44-48). The *Húi Corra* do meet clerics, perhaps their countrymen, at various stages of their journey, one just before Episode 54, and many in the latter part of the story. They meet two prophets—a woman in Episode 54, and an old cleric in Episode 73. The structure of the other late *imrama* is quite as loose as that of *Húi Corra*, and it is useless to apply the Vergilian tests.<sup>1</sup>

To determine whether or not there is in *Maelduin* the close imitation of structure assumed by Zimmer it is necessary to compare the whole trend of events in the two stories. The unlike parts are

<sup>1</sup> C. Wahlund (*Brendans Meerfahrt* [Upsala, 1900], p. xxvii), apparently adopting Zimmer's view concerning possible Vergilian inspiration for the *imrama*, regards the visit to the priest Ende, the island of smiths, and the death of the third monk in *Navigatio Brendani* as reminiscences of the *Aeneid* (cf. Zimmer's points 1, 4, and 5). They can scarcely be more than reminiscences of *Maelduin*, however, and are so regarded by some scholars (Zimmer, *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 321; Bosér, *Romania*, XXII, 582-83). In any event, these parallels seem inadequate for proving conscious imitation of the *Aeneid* by the author of the *Navigatio*.

When some centuries later the author of the "Irish Aeneid" (ed. Calder, *Irish Texts Society*, VI [1903, printed 1907]), wrote the version of Vergil's poem preserved in the Book of Ballymote (ca. 1400), his reaction on the *Aeneid* material was totally different from that assumed by Zimmer for the author of *Maelduin*. He took great liberties with the structure of the poem (Book III is placed before Book I), and actually omitted Dido's account of her previous history, the passage which Zimmer thinks so impressed the author of *Maelduin* that under its influence he made a Dido out of a Celtic fairy mistress. Cf. T. H. Williams, *C.Z.*, II (1888-89), 419-72.

scarcely less eloquent than the alleged like parts in the consideration of structural similarities. The following summary of Vergil's account of Aeneas, with Zimmer's "parallels" indicated, will perhaps aid in estimating the significance of Zimmer's argument.

## AENEID

### BOOK III

After the destruction of Troy Aeneas and his companions, under the guidance of the gods, determine to seek distant retreats, and hoist sails at the command of Anchises. They are uncertain whither the Fates will them to go. They are carried to Thrace.

*Maeld. Ep. 11.*—When Aeneas would build his city, blood flows from a tree and the voice of Polydorus speaks, reciting his murder at the hands of the Thracians and warning Aeneas to flee.

*Maeld. Introd.*—The hero next reaches Delos, governed by King Anius, a priest of Apollo. In answer to prayer, Apollo bids Aeneas search out his ancient mother-soil, where his descendants shall enjoy a universal kingdom. Anchises thinks Crete is meant by the oracle.

Thither Aeneas sails, and builds a city. But a plague wastes his people. In a vision Aeneas hears from his household gods that Italy, not Crete, was meant by Apollo. Cassandra's prophecy is recalled. After enduring a three-day storm, Aeneas is driven to the Strophades, where his men offer violence to the attacking Harpies, and Celaeno predicts that the Trojans in famine shall eat their own tables. Actium is visited, where Trojan games are celebrated by the voyagers.

*Maeld. Ep. 19.*—At Buthrotum Aeneas meets Andromache and Helenus. The latter, a prophet of Apollo, tells the hero he must seek the farther shore of Italy, avoid Scylla and Charybdis, appease Juno, and visit the Cumæan sibyl.

*Maeld. Ep. 21.*—The next morning the Trojans salute Italy, cruise past Italian towns and Mt. Etna, and after a stormy night reach the coasts of the Cyclops, where Achaemenides, the comrade of Ulysses, in piteous plight tells the tale of Ulysses and Polyphemus, and begs mercy of the Trojans. Polyphemus is seen. In terror Aeneas rescues Achaemenides and sails southward, escaping the throng of giants who gather on the shore.

*Maeld. Ep. 15.*—Skirting the Sicilian coast, Aeneas comes to Drepanum, where Anchises dies. Aeneas ceases his narration.

### BOOK IV

*Maeld. Ep. 28* (compare Book iv entire).—Queen Dido conceives a deep passion for Aeneas and, encouraged by her sister Anna, strives to get the gods to approve the breaking of her vow. Juno, active in Dido's behalf, with Venus' aid brings Aeneas and Dido together in a cave during a storm.

Dido proclaims her marriage. Fame spreads abroad the disgrace of the queen. The jealous King Iarbas prays to Jove for revenge. Mercury delivers to Aeneas Jove's command that the Trojans leave Carthage. Aeneas secretly prepares to go, but Dido divines his purpose and, inflamed to madness, reproaches the hero and begs him to remain. Aeneas pleads the command of Jove. Dido in scorn vows vengeance. Aeneas continues preparations for departure. Dido's mood changes, and she sends Anna to Aeneas to beg him to remain, at least for a time. Dido longs for death, and, under pretence of resorting to magic, prepares a funeral pile on the shore. Warned by Mercury, Aeneas suddenly sets sail. Dido descries the retreating fleet and wildly orders her people to prepare to pursue the Trojans. Realizing the madness of the project, she falls into a rage, regretting that she had not taken the life of Aeneas while he was in her power. She prays that Carthage may be the scourge and foe of Italy, and seeks her bed to fall upon her sword. Juno sends Iris to cut the thread that holds soul and body together.

## BOOK V

*Maeld. Ep. 30.*—The Trojans see from their ships the flames of Dido's funeral pyre. A storm compels Aeneas to turn aside to Sicily. Here he is hospitably entertained by his countryman Acestes. Aeneas celebrates funeral games on the anniversary of the death of Anchises. As they worship, a beautiful snake glides harmlessly over the altar. It is perhaps the familiar spirit of Anchises. The games are then celebrated: boat race, foot race, boxing match, archery, and the game of Troy. The Trojan women, inspired by Juno with dissatisfaction, set fire to the ships. Jove sends rain to save the fleet.

By the advice of Nautes the disheartened Aeneas resolves to leave the old and faint-hearted in Sicily. The spirit of Anchises in a vision gives similar advice and tells the hero to visit him in Elysium. Segesta is founded and a temple to Venus erected. The women, penitent, sorrow on being left behind. In response to Venus' prayer, Neptune promises safety to all but one.

*Maeld. Ep. 31.*—On the voyage the god of sleep brings drowsiness upon the pilot Palinurus, who falls into the sea. In the morning Aeneas himself turns pilot.

Obviously the structural similarity of the two accounts as wholes is not striking. A closer resemblance, involving a larger number of parallels, would seem necessary to give color to Zimmer's hypothesis.

Moreover, the closeness of the parallels themselves (points 1, 3, 4, and 5) must be questioned.

1. Aeneas' consultation of the oracle and Maelduin's resort to the druid present situations which are entirely dissimilar. Aeneas

does not consult the oracle before his trip; he has been on his journey for some months, has attempted to establish his seat in Thrace, and has taken the second lap of his sea journey before he reaches the island where he consults the oracle. Moreover, Aeneas makes no voluntary trip to get into touch with a supernatural agency. He is driven by the winds upon an island, and finds there a shrine of Apollo. Quite naturally he seeks light. Maelduin's visit to Nuca, on the contrary, is voluntary and is made before the beginning of the sea journey. The requests of the two heroes are totally different. Aeneas prays for help in establishing a lasting home, and asks for guidance in achieving his destiny. Maelduin, who plans a voyage of vengeance and desires to know where to find his father's murderer, fails to make any inquiry concerning the large issues of his enterprise; he merely secures from the druid a charm and information concerning the building of a boat, the date for starting, and the number of companions to take.

Furthermore, a more likely source of the incident is suggested by the fact that resort to druids for aid and for prophetic information is not infrequent in Irish traditional literature. In *Táin Bó Cúailnge*,<sup>1</sup> "The Cattle Raid of Cooley," the druid Cathbad is consulted as to the omens of the day. In the same story the "poets and druids" cause the troop of Medb to wait a fortnight for a good omen before starting out on their expedition.<sup>2</sup> In *Forbais Droma Damhghaire*,<sup>3</sup> "The Siege of Drom Damhghaire," Cormac consults druids on the probable success of an expedition into Munster. The druids tell him the best methods of defeating the enemy. Druidic aid is also sought in *Tochmarc Etdáine*,<sup>4</sup> in *Tairired na nDéssi*,<sup>5</sup> "Expulsion of the Dessi," in *Cath Maighe Mucraimhe*,<sup>6</sup> "The Battle of Magh Mucrimhe," and in other old stories. There is also an example in *Cóir Anmann*,<sup>7</sup> "The Fitness of Names." In the shorter *Fled Bricrend*<sup>8</sup> (*Fled Bricrend ocus Loinges mac n-Duill Dermaic*, "The

<sup>1</sup> Trans. L. W. Faraday (London, 1904), p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> O'Curry, *Manuscript Materials* (Dublin, 1878), pp. 271-72.

<sup>4</sup> Leahy, *Heroic Romances*, I, 7 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Kuno Meyer, *Y Cymmrodor*, XIV (1901), 101 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *R.C.*, XIII (1893), 426 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Irische Texte*, III, 303.

<sup>8</sup> Trans. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, II, 1, 196.



Feast of Briuriu and the Exile of the Sons of Doel Dermait"), Cuchullin is offered a sea charm such as Maelduin seems to have sought from the druid Nuca. Moreover, he is about to take and does take a successful voyage to a land of wonders. Clearly there is no necessity for supposing a foreign source for the notion of Maelduin's resort to the druid.

3. That Aeneas and Maelduin meet countrymen at corresponding stages of their journeys may be entirely accidental. No very peculiar or similar situations are involved. In a story of wanderings at sea, the meeting of someone from home is a simple, natural device which any story-teller might use, its narrative function being to remind the reader or hearer of the hero's connection with a real, non-romantic world. The device is particularly fitting in *Maelduin*, as the hero is finally to be brought back to Ireland. All the countrymen are clerics who have undergone some outstanding religious experience. That they enact the rôle of prophets needs no recourse to classical paganism for an explanation. In the eighth century, the probable period of *Maelduin*, stories of the experiences of sea anchorites, based probably upon fact,<sup>1</sup> had long been current.

If the encountering of countrymen, moreover, is included in *Maelduin* in imitation of the *Aeneid*, and the instances carefully placed at corresponding stages of the hero's progress, how are we to explain Maelduin's meeting with the countryman in Episode 33, for which Zimmer could find no suggestion of a parallel in the journey of Aeneas? According to Zimmer's hypothesis, we are compelled to regard two of the three meetings with countrymen as significant, and one as not significant. It is difficult to look with favor on such an arbitrary argumentative procedure as this.

4. As Zimmer recognizes, his argument on this point involves the assumption that the author of *Maelduin*, though influenced directly by the *Aeneid* in including the episode of the giant smiths and in determining its place in the story, drew upon his knowledge of Homer for the details of the incident. Two essential points in the

<sup>1</sup> Schirmer (*op. cit.*, p. 21, n. 4) and Zimmer touch on this matter and quote Dicuil, *De Mensura Terrarum* (825 A.D.), "Sunt aliae insulae multae in septentrionali Britanniae oceano; duorum dierum ac noctium recta navigatione, plenis velis, assiduo feliciter vento, adiri queunt . . . in quibus, in centum ferme annis, eremitae ex nostra Scotia navigantes habitaverunt." See also Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, cxix.

parallel, the throwing of rocks and the conception of the Cyclops as blind, must have come, not from Vergil, but from the *Odyssey* ix. 107 ff. and 539 ff.

Zimmer says that a careful reading of the Irish account reveals the fact that the chief smith is conceived of as blind, a circumstance which makes the parallel seem much closer. An analysis of the incident makes this inference seem groundless:

The voyagers hear a smiting of anvils. They hear Smith Number 1 ask Smith Number 2, "Are they close at hand?" Number 2 answers, "Yea." Smith Number 3 says, "Who are these ye say are coming here?" Number 2 describes the strangers. Then the smith at the forge, who is apparently the leader (probably Number 1, possibly Number 3), asks, "Are they now near the harbour?" Number 2, this time referred to as the "watchman," replies that they do not seem to be drawing nearer. Again the questioner at the forge inquires, "What are they doing now?" "I think," says the "lookout man," "that they are running away." The smith at the forge now steps forth and casts a mass of molten metal after the boat. The cast falls short, and the strangers continue successfully their retreat, with the stern of their boat turned out to sea.

There is no necessity for supposing this chief smith to be blind. Number 2 is quite plainly a regular sentinel, and the other smiths, including the chief smith, are evidently so placed that they cannot see the boat. The chief smith is at work at his forge, perhaps hidden behind a rock or in a cave (he is said to "come forth" from the forge before making the cast), and having been made aware of the approach of the strangers he interrogates his lookout man, from time to time, as to their movements. If the Irish author thought of this smith as blind, it is strange that he did not so describe him and that he made no use of the motive. Also it seems hardly likely—though it is possible, as the giant is an Otherworld giant—that the author would conceive of the smith as compelled by blindness to make inquiries concerning the strangers' position, and yet be able to hurl his missile with almost deadly aim. Fairy giants, of course, appear elsewhere in Celtic literature.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the older stories examples are: *Fled Bricrend* (ITS, II, 47 ff.); *Tochmarc Emire*, "The Wooing of Emer" (Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, 81 [Fomoril]; and the shorter *Fled Bricrend* (Island-inhabiting giants). In Fenian literature giants are quite numerous: in the *Gilla Decair* (trans. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 292 ff.) there is an oversea giant; in *Find and the Phantoms* (R.C., VII [1886], 297) there is a hostile Otherworld giant. See also *Agallamh na Senórach*, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 103 ff.

5. Zimmer's effort to force a parallel between the deaths of Palinurus and Maelduin's third foster-brother leads him into what is perhaps the most fantastic of all his arguments. In order to appreciate fully the gratuitous ingenuity of Zimmer's hypothesis, one must remember that Zimmer regards the lost original version of *Húi Corra* as older than *Maelduin* and composed, like *Maelduin*, under the influence of the *Aeneid*. He does not regard the two stories as written by the same author. The creator of *Maelduin* then is not the pioneer in devising an Irish imitation of the *Aeneid*; he is merely attempting to out-Vergil the earlier Irish Vergil. His predecessor had interpreted the death of Palinurus as due to the addition of Achaemenides to the crew. The author of *Maelduin*, accepting this stupid interpretation of Vergil,<sup>1</sup> resolves to improve on the idea by introducing three additional men, and finds justification in the commonly admired *Aeneid* by resorting to the incidents of the death of Anchises and the Polydorus-bleeding-tree affair! All this in spite of the fact that Anchises was a member of the original crew, and that Polydorus never belonged to the crew at all, but was in fact dead before Aeneas began his journey. But the author of *Maelduin* is not to be daunted by these incongruities. He puzzles out a justification by thinking of Polydorus as dying, so to speak, a second time. Surely it is unnecessary to resort to such a theory of composition to explain so simple an amplification of the story as the addition of three members of the crew, destined as they are to be lost because of the violation of the taboo, instead of the addition of a single member.<sup>2</sup>

The testimony of the poem itself on the point of authorship would seem to be of little value at present in determining the origin

<sup>1</sup> I find nothing in Vergil to warrant the supposition that the death of Palinurus was a necessary consequence of the taking on of Achaemenides. Neptune takes the life as an atonement, in order to preserve the lives of the rest:

"Unus erit tantum, amissum quem gurgite quaeres;  
Unum pro multis dabitur caput." [*Aeneid* v. 814-15.]

Even admitting this forced interpretation, however, there is no true parallel to *Húi Corra*, because in the latter, as in the corresponding incidents in *Maelduin*, the additional voyager is himself the one to die.

<sup>2</sup> The especial fondness of the Celts for triads is in itself a sufficient explanation, if coupled with a desire to expand a good story. See the collection of Irish triads, ed. and trans. Kuno Meyer, *Royal Irish Academy, Todd Lecture Series*, XIII (Dublin, 1906). See also the collection of Welsh triads in J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, II (Paris, 1913), 223 ff. and *ibid.*, I, Intr., 76-77. In *Maelduin* itself the visits to successive islands are nearly all separated by "three days and nights." There are beds for "every three" in Eps. 6 and 17. In *Bran* the crew is divided into three companies to each of which Bran assigns a leader. One of these leaders is a foster-brother of the hero.

of *Maelduin*. The closing sentence of the story, "Now Aed the Fair, chief sage of Ireland, arranged this story as it standeth here, etc.," occurs only in the youngest of the four manuscript sources, Egerton 1782, which, according to Stokes, is not earlier than the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Stokes<sup>2</sup> and Zimmer<sup>3</sup> find trace of but one *Aed Finn* in the annals. This man was chief of the Dal Riata, died in 771, and was "more probably given," says Stokes, "to making raids and beheading his foes than to composing imaginative literature."

It appears natural to regard the *imram* as an outgrowth of native narrative materials and forms, wrought into its typical structural form through natural processes by native story-tellers who embellished their tales from time to time, drawing new material from any sources that presented themselves. In a later paper I hope to present evidence of a direct nature in support of this hypothesis.

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<sup>1</sup> *R.C.*, IX, 448.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 447.

<sup>3</sup> *ZPDA*, XXXIII, 290-92.

UNE PRÉDICTION INÉDITE SUR L'AVENIR DE LA  
LANGUE DES ETATS-UNIS (ROLAND DE LA  
PLATIERE, 1789)

Dans une étude sur l'universalité de la langue française au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>1</sup> j'ai indiqué en passant un mémoire manuscrit, intéressant par sa date et par quelques-unes de ses prévisions.<sup>2</sup> Le futur ministre Roland—le mari de Mme Roland—alors avocat à Lyon<sup>3</sup> et membre de l'Académie de cette ville, aura sans doute été tenté de répondre à la question mise au concours, en 1781, par l'Académie de Berlin, sur l'universalité de la langue française. Mais, amené à des conclusions particulières par son enthousiasme politique pour les Américains affranchis, il se sera contenté de faire servir son mémoire, en 1789, à une "communication" académique.

Après avoir posé en principe que "les causes qui semblent devoir le plus concourir à rendre une langue universelle résident, sans doute, dans l'état de cette langue, et dans celui de la nation qui la parle," Roland examine dans quelle mesure les langues et les peuples de l'antiquité et des temps modernes répondent à cette double condition. Car "la perfection d'une langue et la prépondérance du peuple qui l'emploie, renferment les données nécessaires à son universalité, ou résolvent le problème de son extension. Ces deux causes sont indispensables: l'une sans l'autre est insuffisante."

Aucune des langues et des nations modernes, ni l'Italie, ni l'Espagne et le Portugal, ni l'Allemagne, ni même la France, ne semble à Roland réunir les doubles qualités dont dépendra l'universalité dans l'avenir. L'anglais lui paraît avoir les mérites intrinsèques du grec ancien, mais les défauts du peuple anglais, à son gré, sont tels que l'extension de la langue sera empêchée par les insuffisances de la nation. C'est alors qu'il arrive aux Etats-Unis, qui parlent la même langue—avec des qualités sociales et morales autrement aimables et riches d'avenir:

Les habitants des Etats-Unis, aussi fiers et non moins braves que les Anglais, aussi actifs et non moins industriels, plus exercés par les malheurs,

<sup>1</sup> *Etudes d'histoire littéraire*, 1<sup>e</sup> série, Paris, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque du Palais Saint-Pierre à Lyon, Ms. de l'Académie de Lyon; n° 151 du catal. Molinier, fol. 175.

<sup>3</sup> En réalité les Roland passaient la plus grande partie de l'année au Clos de la Platière. Cf. les *Mémoires* de Mme Roland (éd. Perroud; Paris, 1905), t. II, p. 256.

plus travaillés par les besoins, sont plus humains, plus généreux, plus tolérants; toutes choses propres à faire goûter les opinions, adopter les usages et parler la langue d'un tel peuple. Le sensible auteur des *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*<sup>1</sup> nous le fait déjà bien juger, lorsqu'il nous développe les sages principes de la politique dans cette heureuse contrée, lorsqu'il nous dépeint la paix des familles, l'union des citoyens indépendants de toute opinion, et l'affluence des étrangers de tous les pays, venant chercher, sur cette terre nouvelle, la liberté, la protection, les secours fraternels et l'active bienveillance qu'on est toujours certain d'y trouver. Placés pour étendre leur commerce avec autant d'avantages que de facilité dans toutes les parties de l'ancien monde, les Américains des Etats-Unis ne seront étrangers pour aucun peuple, ils fraternisent avec l'univers. Les lumières et les connaissances de tous les siècles ne les portent point à condamner avec orgueil quiconque ne partage pas leur savoir; ils envisagent tous les hommes sous le rapport commun qui les lie: le nègre grossier, l'indien superstitieux, trouvent en eux la même indulgence qu'ils ont pour les sauvages ignorants, leurs voisins; pour les jaloux européens, leurs alliés.

La douceur de leur gouvernement en fait des patriotes aussi zélés que le furent jamais les plus célèbres républicains; celle de leur principes les rend, dans leur bienveillance universelle, semblables aux plus parfaits cosmopolites, et leur situation doit en faire les commerçants les plus puissants. Que de moyens de s'élever, de s'étendre, de multiplier ses relations et de propager l'usage de sa langue! Le seul charme de leur philosophie, si propre à gagner les cœurs, semble préparer le triomphe de leurs opinions et devoir ranger un jour bien des peuples sous leur religion consolante.

. . . . Il me semble que la langue d'une telle nation sera un jour la langue universelle.

Roland annonce d'ailleurs que "ce rapide aperçu n'est que l'esquisse d'un ouvrage susceptible de beaucoup de recherches et d'un grand développement." Sans doute les événements auxquels il n'allait point tarder à être mêlé l'ont-ils empêché de donner suite à ce projet. Telles qu'elles étaient exprimées dans le mémoire de Lyon, sous leur forme emphatique et avec leur optimisme facile, les idées de Roland ont leur intérêt: elles permettent en tout cas de mesurer quelle était, au lendemain de l'affranchissement américain et à la veille de notre Révolution, la confiance placée dans la jeune démocratie d'outre-mer par un des hommes qui devait jouer un rôle dans notre lutte pour la liberté politique.

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<sup>1</sup> Il s'agit du livre de J. Crèvecoeur, *A Farmer's Letters in Pennsylvania*, London, 1782, qui avait été traduit en 1784. Cf. Julia P. Mitchell, *St. Jean de Crèvecoeur*, New York, 1916.



## A CLASSIFICATION FOR FABLES, BASED ON THE COLLECTION OF MARIE DE FRANCE

Schemes of classification for the fable are less numerous than definitions of the fable, but they are certainly not few. A review of several of the more important will reveal a general failure to base classification on any essential characteristic—division is made with respect to something superficial or remote. The main function of classification in the present case would seem to be the assistance it would offer in conceiving clearly the essential nature of the type and in testing and elaborating principles laid down in the definition. I venture to repeat a definition arrived at in an earlier article:<sup>1</sup> a fable is a short tale, obviously false, devised to impress, by the symbolic representation of human types, lessons of expediency and morality.

Division between *genre* and *genre* is usually represented by a strip of debatable land, and varieties within any particular type must, to any but the most superficial classification, be even more blurred at the boundaries. The different varieties are often to be considered as stations on a line of variation between two extremes rather than as isolated categories. It is solely with the intention of marking out for the fable more clearly than I have marked out in my definition the "curve" of this line, by indicating certain determining dots, that I offer one more scheme for classification. I am very certain that with respect to assignment among the subdivisions of the main classes, two people, in the case of some fables, would hardly agree. On the other hand, that these substations do exist between the main stations on the line is apparent, and some fables are nearer one and some nearer another.

The more important existing classifications can be quickly set forth. Aphthonius (300 A.D.) made a division on the basis of the kind of actors appearing in the fable, distinguishing fables employing men, those in which unintelligent creatures appeared, and those in which both were to be found. This scheme formed the basis for

<sup>1</sup> "The Fable and Kindred Forms," *Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XIV, 519-29.

Wolff and eventually Lessing.<sup>1</sup> Herder divided into *theoretische oder Verstand bildende*, i.e., those designed to exercise the reason; *sittliche*, those designed to impress rules for the will; and *Schicksalsfabeln*, those designed to show the force of a chain of circumstances, fate, or chance, a classification based exclusively on purpose, irrespective of method.<sup>2</sup> Beyer offers "serious" and "humorous," and Gotschall *epigrammatische* and *humoristische*, a mere general distinction between the fables of Aesop and those of La Fontaine.<sup>3</sup> Lessing first offers *einfache* and *zusammengesetzte*, the latter consisting of fables followed by a second narrative applying the law of the fable by means of human actors.<sup>4</sup> Later he presents as his proper classification that of Aphthonius, modified by Wolff, and used with new meanings attached to the terms employed.

According to this classification, fables are to be divided into the *vernünftige*, the *sittliche*, and the *vermischte*. These terms Lessing defines respectively as indicating (1) those fables which are possible and unconditioned by any necessary assumption; (2) those to which possibility can be accredited only after some preliminary assumption has been made; and (3) those mingling elements of both the preceding classes. Under the second heading he has two subdivisions: the *mythische*, which introduce unreal personages, and the *hyperphysische*, in which the characters are real, but have heightened properties. Finally, under the *vermischte*, he has the *vernünftig mythische*, or part unconditioned, part mythical; the *vernünftig hyperphysische*, or part unconditioned, part heightened in characters; and the *hyperphysische mythische*, or those mingling characters heightened and mythical.

The first category, the unconditioned, presents the same difficulty as Lessing's definition of the fable: it admits into the type illustrative tales which are not fables. In general, however, this is the most philosophical classification: it attempts to distinguish on the basis of what Lessing considers the essential for effectiveness, the fable's real

<sup>1</sup> Lessing, *Fabeln, drei Bücher, nebst Abhandlungen mit dieser Dichtungsart verwandten Inhalts*, 1759, in *Sämmt. Schrift.*, V, 438.

<sup>2</sup> L. Hirsch, *Die Fabel* (Cöthen, 1894), p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Lessing, *loc. cit.*

or apparent possibility. With this in view, Lessing classifies according to the assumptions necessary, a process which comes in the end to a division by kinds of actors, after all. The nature of the actor or symbol used, is, however, a matter of the least significance in the fable, provided that it be suitable to the object in view. What Lessing attempted and, as it seems to me, failed to accomplish, owing to a faulty definition and a misconception of allegory, must be done, however, if we are to arrive at a satisfactory scheme. It is necessary to classify according to the essential nature of the fable.<sup>1</sup>

The core of the fable, as I have previously attempted to show, is that it aims to fix certain truths in the minds of its readers by allegorical representation. However much the different varieties of the fable blend, one thing is clear—three large groups can be discerned: (1) fables in which the actors, some or all (with the setting), and the action are both symbolic; (2) those in which only the actors (with the setting) are symbolic, while the action is that of typical human beings; and (3) those in which only the action is symbolic, while the actors consist of typical human beings.

Before refining on this scheme let me put it concretely. I shall choose my illustrations as far as possible from the fables of Marie de France,<sup>2</sup> and later make application of the proposed scheme of classification to her collection. It is broad enough in its range, with one exception to be noticed later, to serve this purpose very well.

Take, for example, the fifth fable, "De cane et umbra." This tale, by reason of its closeness to nature, may be considered a mere illustrative tale from nature, or it may be considered a fable, according as the reader fails to identify the actor in it with a human type and takes it literally, or as he actually interprets it in human terms. In tales of this sort the fable makes its closest approach to literature of non-allegorical nature analogy.<sup>3</sup> When, however, it is considered a fable, it is not merely the actor that must be interpreted. A dog crosses a bridge with a cheese in his mouth. He sees the shadow of the cheese reflected in the stream below. Plunge! Snap! and he is

<sup>1</sup> It will not be necessary to pause on other equally unsatisfactory classifications, like those of Addison (*Spectator*, 183) or Hawkesworth (*Adventurer*, 18).

<sup>2</sup> *Die Fabeln der Marie de France* (ed. E. Mall and K. Warnke [= *Bib. norm.*, VI], Halle, 1898).

<sup>3</sup> *Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XIV, 524.

struggling empty-mouthed to shore, substance and shadow vanished in the stream. Say that the dog is the greedy man, the cheese a symbol of that which he already has, the shadow an unattainable but coveted object, and so on; this still leaves the story incoherent. We must also translate the acts of plunging, snapping, and dropping into terms of human action. It is therefore apparent that in fables of this sort *both actors (with setting) and action are symbolic*, and only by a translation of both (subconscious, of course, and not mechanical, as in the present analysis) do we arrive at the typical human story underneath, which in reality presents the lesson.

In fables of the first main group the action is that natural to the symbols and totally different in detail from that which it symbolizes. In the second large division, however, the action is not to be derived from any scene in natural life. While the actors preserve their distinctly symbolic form, *the action is that of the typical human beings they represent, more or less adapted, it is true, to the requirements of these symbols*, but still in motive and accomplishment clearly human.

Take, for example, to illustrate this group in the large, the sixty-seventh fable of Marie, "*De corvo pennas pavonis inveniente.*" A crow, finding some peacock feathers and despising herself because less beautiful than the other birds, pulls out her own plumage and decks herself in that which she has found. Fine feathers do not make fine birds, however, and her manners betray her. The real peacocks beat her with their wings. Then she would like to be a simple crow again, but now they all shun her, or chase and beat her. This action finds no counterpart in nature, but is fashioned to represent, with more or less exactitude, the typical conduct of many a vain, dishonest person, ranging all the way from the wearing of apparel belonging to another, or not paid for, to the more metaphorically suggested stealing of another's honors. In any case, it is human action, to a large extent, which is set forth—adapted, however, to the nature of the symbols. The crow must pull out her own feathers (an act at least possible to the crow) before she puts on the peacock's glory (an act impossible to the crow, but, translated, the proper thing for the human actor to do). This main division is the largest.

To illustrate the third main division, it is necessary to go outside the collection of Marie, which has not replaced the twenty-nine fables

of Phaedrus introducing men (cast out by the *Primitive Romulus*, to which she ultimately goes back) by any sufficiently clear fables of this sort. Here the actors are typical human figures, but the action is symbolic. There are certain tales of men whose conduct is too preposterous to be accepted literally, which readily suggest a very different type of action and give the lesson for it. Take for example this fable of Aesop:

A Man and his Son were once going with their Donkey to market. As they were walking along by its side a countryman passed them and said: "You fools, what is a Donkey for but to ride upon?"

So the Man put the Boy on the Donkey and they went on their way. But soon they passed a group of men, one of whom said: "See that lazy youngster, he lets his father walk while he rides."

So the Man ordered his Boy to get off, and got on himself. But they hadn't gone far when they passed two women, one of whom said to the other: "Shame on that lazy lout to let his poor little son trudge along."

Well, the Man didn't know what to do, but at last he took his Boy up before him on the Donkey. By this time they had come to the town, and the passers-by began to jeer and point at them. The Man stopped and asked what they were scoffing at. The men said: "Aren't you ashamed of yourself for over-loading that poor Donkey of yours—you and your hulking son?"

The Man and Boy got off and tried to think what to do. They thought and they thought, till at last they cut down a pole, tied the Donkey's feet to it, and raised the pole and the Donkey to their shoulders. They went along amid the laughter of all who met them till they came to Market Bridge, when the Donkey, getting one of his feet loose, kicked out and caused the Boy to drop his end of the pole. In the struggle the Donkey fell over the bridge, and his fore-feet being tied together, he was drowned.

"That will teach you," said an old man who had followed them: "Please all, and you will please none."<sup>1</sup>

Here is a "noodle" story<sup>2</sup> moralized. As the first group brought the fable nearest to a mere analogy in nature, so this group brings it nearest to the simple, illustrative human tale. This last group of fables can be considered such only when the reader actually substitutes for the preposterous or incredible action of the tale the plausible and typical action it suggests, which may be represented in the

<sup>1</sup> J. Jacobs, *The Fables of Aesop, Selected* (London, 1894), p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> W. A. Clouston, *The Book of Noodles* (London, 1903).

present case by supposing this same "noodle" of a farmer to be a political candidate publishing promises equally favorable to two opposing factions.

There are two ways of looking at such a tale, just as there were for those of the first group. It may be considered as merely the narrative of a typical act exaggerated until it becomes a *reductio ad absurdum* of the principle involved, in which case the action is still typical and the tale no fable; or it may be treated as not being intended literally, in which case it becomes in a way allegorical and consequently a fable. In different settings and with different people it would be treated variously. As has been said, this class represents the shading off of the fable into the non-fable on the one extreme, as the first did on the other.

It will now be necessary to see how these three main divisions subdivide and shade off into each other.

# I

a) Among all the fables of Marie there are only two tales which, *because they tell a credible nature story*, could be taken literally as illustrative examples. Such tales in fable collections are far outnumbered by clear-cut fables. The two fables in question are the fifth, already cited, and the sixty-third, "De equo et agro," that very short narrative of the horse which, seeing the grass in the field, but not the hedge inclosing it, leaped, and was staked.

It seems fitting to include in this main division two more subgroups which show the form represented above shading off into the second main group. These still have at bottom an incident in nature which might be taken literally; but they already begin to attribute human characteristics to irrational creatures, characteristics tending to that identification necessary for allegory.

b) *Incidents which could have their germ in true observation of nature, but which are supplemented by the imputation to irrational creatures of the power to say what a rational creature so placed might be expected to think or say.* This closely relates the speaker with a definite human type. There are sixteen fables in this class, for which brief illustrations will serve. First, the well-known fable "De gallo et gemma" (Marie, I): here the dunghill cock, looking for



food, finds a pearl and scorns it in round words. Another is "De vipera et campo" (LXXXII): a serpent passes through the midst of a field, and the field cries out: "Look you! Don't take any of me away." Another is "De femina et gallina" (CII): a woman watches her hen scratching for food. For love, she offers it a full measure every day, that it may cease from toil. The hen responds that if she gave it a half-bushel, it would not leave off seeking more according to its nature and custom. "The Belly and the Members" (XXVII) is another well-known example.<sup>1</sup>

c) The last subdivision of this group goes beyond the preceding in its divergence from the simple nature story. Here are narratives which have as their germ the *observation of actual facts in nature*, as the peculiarity of some animal (some of the *pourquoi* stories belong here, some have developed further) or the power of some natural object, but which are *elaborated and amplified by the imagination and carried farther from nature, nearer to the type*.

Such a fable is "De simia et vulpe" (XXVIII): an ape asks a fox whom he meets to give him a bit of his tail. He has more than he needs and the young apes have none. "Surely," said the fox, "I shall not, by my tail, great as it is, exalt your children into another kingdom or race, even if it were so great that I could not drag it." Another fable of the same class is "De sole nubente" (VI): the sun wishing to wed, all creatures appeal to Destiny, who, after hearing one of them argue that if the sun be reinforced everything will be scorched, forbids the bans. Still another is the pathetic tale of the poor little dunghill beetle ("De scarabaeo," LXXIV), who saw with envious eyes how the eagle flew. In his pride, he says to the other beetles that the "sepande" has done them an injustice. The eagle's voice is no higher than his, and the beetle's body is as shiny, though the eagle is so large. He begins to wish never to enter his dunghill again. He wants to live with "the other birds." He begins to sing very badly. He takes a leap after the eagle. Before he has gone very far he is dazed with fright. He can mount no higher, nor get back to his dunghill. He is hungry. He complains. Little cares he if the birds hear him, or if any of them mock him, any more than

<sup>1</sup> Also Nos. XX, XXIV, XXVII, XXXVIII, XL, XLIX, LIX, LXXIX, LXXXIV, XC, XCI, XCVII.

did the fox, when the beasts held him base; little he cares if one hold him worm or bird, but only that he may enter once more the dung of the horse, for he is hungry.<sup>1</sup>

## II

These last two subdivisions have brought us a long way toward Group II, that in which *the action is that of typical human beings, more or less adapted to the symbols employed*. Here identification with the type becomes more and more complete, until the figures are little more than men in masquerade, as in the last subdivision of the group.

a) Here the action is not to be traced to any scene in nature, but is clearly *typical human action translated or adapted into terms of the symbols*. A good illustration of this division is the fable "De corvo et vulpe" (XIII): a crow steals a cheese from an open window. A fox, loving this delicacy, observes the bird and sighs to himself: "What a lovely bird! Can she sing?" The bird attempts the proof, whereupon the fox's interest in music and crow vanishes, together with the cheese. Here is a young Lothario indeed, flattering and ogling, but after all angling for a cheese and adapting his flattery to the particular failing of the symbol. The mere fact that a veritable Lothario might flatter with the same query makes the identification fortuitously the closer. Here, too, belongs the tale "De simia et prole eius" (LI): a mother ape fondly shows her infant to various animals, who make fun of its ugliness. The bear, however, admires it, asks to hold it, to kiss it, and—quickly devours it. Another familiar illustration is that of the ass who would play the lap dog (XV).<sup>2</sup>

b) The next subdivision differs only in the degree in which the adaptation to the symbols is carried out. Here we have clearly *typical action, partly adapted to the requirements of the symbols, but mingled with details appropriate only to human beings*. Here, for

<sup>1</sup> Other clear cases: XVI, XXXI, LXXXV, XCVI, XCVIII. No. XXIII comes in here, although the detail of the assembling of the beasts tends to take it into one of the subdivisions of Group II.

<sup>2</sup> Also Nos. VIII, XVII, XVIII, XXII, XXVI, XXX, XXXIII, XXXV, XXXVII, LXVI, LXXIII, LXXV, LXXX, XCII, XCVIII. "De vulpe et gallo" (LX), familiar through "The Nonnes Preestes Tale," is peculiar in that it comprises a combination of two actions and two morals. "De vulpe et umbra lunae" (LVIII) is a very good animal "noodle" story on the "cheese-raking" motive, but made into a passable fable.

instance, we find an established court, and court dignities, the animals assembled in parliaments, and the use of details appropriate only to the life of man—doors, bread, letters, etc.

Take, for example, the fable of the "Fox and the Dove" ("De vulpe et columba," LXI): a fox sees a dove sitting aloft and invites it to come down into a more sheltered place—by him. The dove need not fear, for the king has sent a *letter* to the assembled beasts commanding universal peace. The dove agrees to descend, but mentions casually that it sees two knights with dogs approaching. The fox thinks it best to take to the woods: "The dogs may not have heard the command."<sup>1</sup> Or the "Wolf and the Crane" ("De lupo et grue," VII) may be taken. A wolf gets a bone in his throat. Of all the birds called together, only the crane can help. She performs the operation, but receives instead of the promised recompense only the injunction to be thankful she escaped with her life. Another is "De formica et cicada" (XXXIX): the cricket, who sang in the summer, seeks food in vain, when the winter comes, at the door of the ant. Other familiar illustrations are the "City Mouse and the Country Mouse" (IX) and the "Crow in Borrowed Plumage" (LXVII), already cited.<sup>2</sup>

c) The last subdivision is the result of an extension of the humanizing process to an extreme where almost no adaptation to the symbolic form is attempted in the action. Here the figures are men slightly veiled. The masks are on. Here is *typical action with little more translation than the bare use of symbolic forms for actors*.

A lying dog ("De cane et ove," IV) falsely *accuses* a sheep of having *stolen* some bread. He *produces before the judge, for witnesses*, the hawk and the wolf. The sheep is compelled to *sell his wool* in the winter, dies, and is devoured by the three. A grim and unflinching picture of justice in the Middle Ages. In "De milvo" (LXXXVI) a kite, very sick, repents him of his past conduct toward the family of a neighboring jay. He asks his mother to beg the jay to

<sup>1</sup> Dr. H. S. Canby, *The Novella and Related Varieties of the Short Narrative* (Yale Dissertation), p. 243, calls this a beast novella, and indeed the story side is developed; a wise action, however, is held up to admiration in true fable manner.

<sup>2</sup> Others are Nos. II, III, X, XI, XII, XIV, XIX, XXIX, XXXVI, XLVI, LXII, LXVI, LXX, LXXI, LXXXI, LXXXIII, LXXXIX, XCIII, CI. In No. LXXXIII the lesson is less obvious, and it is called a *novella* by Dr. Canby. It gives an instructive view of life, however, in fable manner.

pray for him. She responds that his past actions render this request impossible. Perhaps "De agno et capra" (XXXII) is less clear. A sheep had a lamb which shepherds took from it. A goat nourished it until it grew large, then said, "Go to the sheep, thy mother, or the wether, thy father; I have nourished thee long enough." He answered wisely and said that he considered her his mother who had fed him, rather than her who bore and left him—a fable which emphasizes the truth that blood is thinner than milk. This "translation" of the Ruth and Naomi story would seem to belong in this group.<sup>1</sup>

### III

We finish the survey of the real fables in Marie by returning once more to the third main division, Group III, that in which the *actors are typical and the action symbolic*. We have gone the full swing from fables that approximate the simple nature analogy, through the fables of clear allegorical import, to those approaching the illustrative human narrative. This class needs no subdivision, and has already been illustrated.

In every large collection of fables there are included many tales which cannot be brought under any real definition of the fable, and which have led some, Diestel for instance,<sup>2</sup> to define not the fable, but the pointed anecdote. These other stories, whether they be Milesian tales of salty flavor, churchmen's *exempla*, sometimes even more briny, or bits of popular superstition, have been intermingled with the fables because they have happened to be of a similar length and have a common origin in reflection upon human life. Dr. Canby points out some twenty-five tales among the fables of Marie which he classes generally as *novelle*, and more exactly as *novelle*, beast *novelle*, and anecdotes, the last being an unexpanded form of the preceding and exhibiting less generalization.<sup>3</sup> These are characterized by a lighter emphasis on the moral than the fable requires. To me the final distinction between the fable and the illustrative tale is to be found in the allegorical nature of the former, a distinction

<sup>1</sup> Others are Nos. XXXIV, L, LXV, LXXVII, LXXVIII, LXXXVII, LXXXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> G. Diestel, *Bausteine zur Geschichte der deutschen Fabel* (Dresden, 1871).

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 243.

which goes beyond the mere emphasis on the moral in the one and on the story in the other, though no doubt resulting from the existence of that emphasis, while the type was still in the short-story ferment out of which all the various forms emerged. My list of tales in Marie that are not fables differs, however, from Dr. Canby's in only one or two particulars. As to classification, we can call them all *novelle*, if we like, as in these the moral force they have is not assisted by allegory. Five different kinds of stories, however, may be distinguished:

1. *Animistic beast-tales, which, by the absence of a clearly perceptible human purpose, fall short of clear allegory and of the fable type.* In this group various subgroups might be indicated, like that which displays the *shrewd beast* who amuses by outwitting. Here the actor comes close to a human type, but is not interpreted, as no apparent moral lesson or human purpose establishes the identification. After all, it is the beast's shrewdness that counts. Of this sort is "De leone infirmo" (LXVIII), in which the fox plays physician and outwits the malicious wolf.<sup>1</sup> Not all of these animistic tales, however, are to be included in clearly marked subcategories. "De lupo et scarabaeo" (LXV) is of a *fabliau* sort—comparable in part to No. XLIII, classed in the next division—and so slight, so cluttered, and so smirched as to be of practically no moral or allegorical significance.

2. There are also many perfectly clear little *fabliaux*, short realistic tales of human life with a tang to them. "De uxore mala et marito eius" (XCV) is an example. A farmer's wife opposes her husband in everything. His laborers want beer and bread. He thinks to avoid granting the request by sending them to her. When she learns that he is against the proposal, she says they shall have what they ask, but she will bring the refreshment herself and the farmer shall have none. After she has brought the food and drink, the farmer approaches her, and she, retreating, falls into the river. The laborers begin to look for her down the stream, but the farmer tells them to look above the place of the catastrophe, saying that she was so much against everything, that she would not have gone down stream with the current.

<sup>1</sup> Others are Nos. XXI and LXIX.

In this group are tales of the *troublesome* or *disputatious wife* (XCIV), the *deceived husband* (XLIV, XLV), the *inconstant widow* ("Widow of Ephesus" story, XXV), the *man got with child* (XLII, XLIII), and of *justice won by a quip* (XLVII) or *injustice through a bribe* (LVI). Under the same head might be grouped such mere anecdotes as "De homine et hirco" (LXIV), and "De homine et servis" (XLI): a powerful man, coming upon two serfs, noticed that they talked very secretly together, although no one was near. When asked, they said that it was not from fear of being overheard, but because they thought it looked wise to talk in that manner.

The three groups that remain to be noticed consist of tales especially adapted for use as *exempla*, being more moral in tendency, though the mediaeval preacher, of course, was not squeamish.

3. First, there are the moral, illustrative tales involving *popular superstition*, like "De fure et sortilega" (LXVIII): a witch proposes a partnership with a thief, promising her protection. When he is caught and supplicates her assistance, she "bears him in hand" until the rope is about his neck, and then tells him to shift for himself, as she can do no more. More markedly superstitious and more popular is "De dracone et homine" (LII): a dragon has a peasant for companion. He tells the peasant that all his power resides in an egg, which he puts into the peasant's keeping. He then goes away. The man, thinking to kill the dragon and have his treasure, breaks the egg, only to have his treachery revealed to the returning dragon. Such tales might be placed in the third main group of fables. Another tale on the "Greedy Ingrate" theme is "The Man and the Serpent" (LXXII). The motive of the "Three Wishes" appears in "De rustico et nano" (LVII).

4. Again, there are simple, illustrative moral tales of a sort *too moral and too dignified* to be grouped with the *fabliaux*, such as "De sene et equite" (C): a knight meets an old man who seems wise and far-traveled, so he asks him in what land he may best dwell. The old man instructs him to go (1) where the people shall all love him; failing that, (2) where the people shall all fear him; if that prove impossible, (3) where nobody shall fear him; or, as a last resort, (4) where he shall see no one and no one shall know where he is.

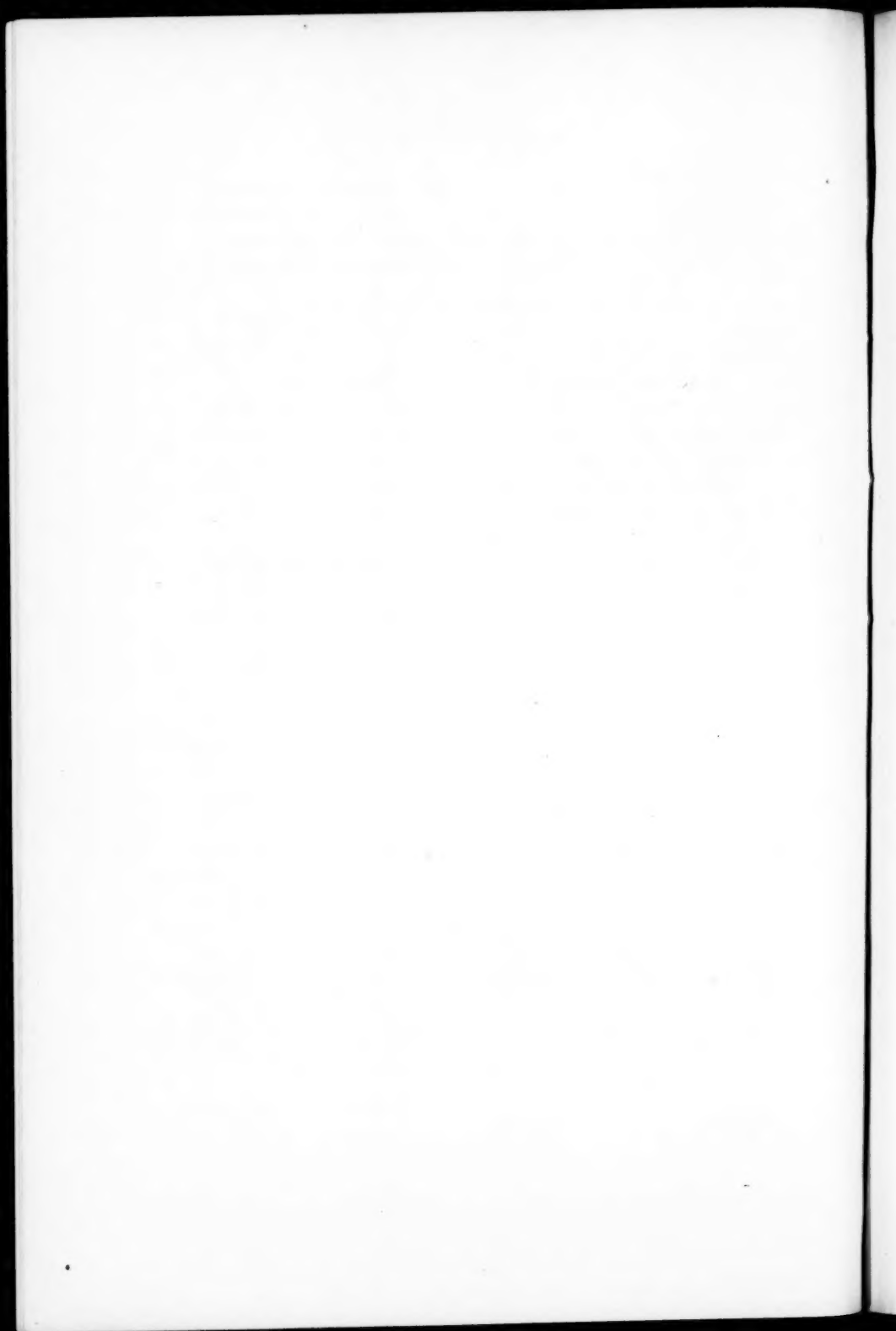


5. Finally, there are tales which have specific *relation to ecclesiastical or religious matters*, like "De rustico orante et equum petente" (LIV): a peasant, tying his only horse outside the minster, goes within and prays for another horse. Meanwhile a thief absconds with the one which he had. When the peasant sees the misfortune which has come upon him through his greed, as it is made to appear, he returns and prays, not for a second horse, but to have his own returned. (Similarly LIII, LV.) In this group is one little "miracle," "De homine in nave" (XCIX): a rich man wishes to cross a sea to transact business. He prays God to lead him there in safety. He wishes to return, and prays God not to let him perish. Before he is aware of danger, he is cast into the sea. Then he prays God to bring him to land, this only and nothing more. When he sees God regards not this prayer, he cries, "Let Him do His will," and immediately after this, he arrives at his desired port.

This survey does not pretend to embrace all the varieties of tales that have been included in fable collections. It intends merely to show, in a general way, their nature and how they differ from the fable.

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## TRANSLATIONS OF THE *VIE DE MARIANNE* AND THEIR RELATION TO CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH FICTION

The eighteenth-century vogue of Marivaux in England has been discussed by both French and English critics chiefly from the viewpoint of his possible influence upon Richardson. That this problem is one of continued vitality recent studies have made evident.<sup>1</sup> As a contribution to this question as well as to the wider problem of the relation of contemporary translations of *Marianne* to English fiction in general, I wish to make clear the following points:

1. Statements about the translations of *Marianne* have frequently been inaccurate and incomplete.
2. Instead of the one translation usually assumed to be the source of the vogue of Marivaux in English, there is evidence that by 1746 three translations were in circulation.
3. Circumstances connected with the publication of the two additional versions throw light upon the popularity of Marivaux; the nature of the translations makes clear the ground of their appeal, and the relation of Marivaux and Richardson to fictional development before and during the period in which *Pamela* appeared.

### I

The *Vie de Marianne* was first published in parts, as follows: 1731, Part 1; 1734, Part 2; 1735, Part 3; 1736, Parts 4, 5, 6; 1737, Parts 7, 8; 1741, Parts 9, 10, 11. In 1742 the eleven parts were published together in Paris. In 1745 an edition was published in Amsterdam containing the original eleven parts and a spurious

<sup>1</sup> Though Mr. Cazamian in 1913 in his chapter on Richardson in the *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.* assumed that Austin Dobson in 1902 had definitely settled the question in the negative (*Samuel Richardson*, "English Men of Letters" [London, 1902], pp. 48-50), yet in the year before Mr. Cazamian's chapter was published the controversy was reviewed by Mr. E. C. Baldwin in a study of "Marivaux's Place in Character Portrayal," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXVII (1912), 184-85; in 1913 it was again discussed by Mr. G. C. Macaulay in an article on "Richardson and His Predecessors," in the *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, VIII (1913), 463 ff.; and within the last year the question has been reopened by Miss Carola Schröers in her article, "Ist Richardsons *Pamela* von Marivauxs *Vie de Marianne* beeinflusst?" in *Englische Studien*, XLIX (1916), 220-54.

conclusion in the form of a twelfth part. These twelve parts were published together in Paris in 1755.<sup>1</sup>

An English translation came out under a title literally derived from the French:

The Life of Marianne, or the Adventures of the Countess of . . . By M. de Marivaux. Translated from the French Original.

According to contemporary notices in periodicals, quoted by Mr. Esdaile, this translation appeared in parts in June, 1736, January, 1737, April, 1742.<sup>2</sup> The *London Magazine* for April, 1742, in announcing Vol. II refers to it as "Printed for C. Davis."<sup>3</sup> I have been unable to find a copy of this work, which Clara Reeve seems to have described in 1785 as a "poor literal translation."<sup>4</sup>

To clear up the confusion that has existed, I wish to call attention at this point to the inaccuracy with which this and other translations have been cited, in discussions of Marivaux and of his relation to Richardson. The appearance of the story in parts has at times been ignored. Thus Miss Thomson in her usually accurate study says, "An English translation of Marianne appeared in 1736."<sup>5</sup> Mr. Macaulay fails to indicate that a second volume of this translation appearing in 1737 was also available to Richardson. He says:

It is clear that for his acquaintance with French romance he [Richardson] must have depended on translations. This, however, does not cause any real difficulty. An English translation of *La Vie de Marianne*, so far as it had then proceeded, was published in 1736, four years before the publication of *Pamela*.<sup>6</sup>

Professor Raleigh writes, with inaccuracy at more than one point:

It was not until . . . years after Marivaux by his *Vie de Marianne* (1731) had singularly anticipated Richardson in subject and treatment, although, so far as can be ascertained, without influencing him, that the English *Pamela* was born in 1740. . . . It seems likely that Richardson

<sup>1</sup> Larroumet, *Marivaux, sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris, 1882), pp. 607-8. There is some disagreement as to the date of the appearance of the eleventh part. Lanson, *Man. Bibl. de la litt. fran. mod.* (Paris, 1911), III, 696, and Petit de Julleville, *Hist. de la litt. et d. la lang. fran.* (Paris), VI, 465, give 1742 as the date.

<sup>2</sup> A *List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed before 1740* (London, 1912), p. 369. The same data are given by A. Dobson, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> *London Mag.*, XX (1742), 208.

<sup>4</sup> *Progress of Romance* (London, 1785), p. 129.

<sup>5</sup> Samuel Richardson, *A Biographical and Critical Study* (London, 1900), p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 467.

had read *The Life of Marianne* with the continuation of Mme Riccoboni, which appeared in three volumes, 12mo, in 1736.<sup>1</sup>

Dunlop<sup>2</sup> and Max Gassmeyer<sup>3</sup> refer only to a translation of 1784, which I shall consider later. Mr. Boas refers only to a translation of 1743.<sup>4</sup> Whether this is an inaccurate citation of the 1736-42 translation or a reference to another is a question; I suspect the former is the case.

We may note here that of this literal translation Richardson, before writing *Pamela*, probably could have read only the first six parts, which appeared by January, 1737. This carried the story to the scene at the minister's house, where Marianne is rescued from a marriage, plotted by Valville's relatives, by the sudden appearance of Valville and Mme Miran. This fact is not sufficiently recognized in Miss Schröers' study. In her interesting array of parallel passages in *Pamela* and *Marianne*, she finds most of her material in Parts I-III of *Marianne*, the attempted seduction of Marianne by M. Climal being comparable to the persecution of Pamela by Mr. B. Admitting the similarities in these passages, and their possible significance, one recognizes at the same time that many of the details are implicit in the situation. It should be noted also that two of Miss Schröers' parallels<sup>5</sup> are drawn from the seventh part of *Marianne*, which Richardson probably could not have read in translation before 1740.

## II

The popularity of *Marianne* in the early years of Richardson's literary activity is attested not by one but by three translated versions: one of them the literal translation already discussed; the

<sup>1</sup> *English Novel* (New York, 1911), p. 140. In regard to the date of Mme Riccoboni's translation see *infra*, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. of Fiction* (London, 1911), II, 462.

<sup>3</sup> Richardson's "*Pamela*" und seine Quellen (Leipzig, 1890), pp. 19 ff.; quoted by Miss Schröers.

<sup>4</sup> "Richardson's Novels and Their Influence," in *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* (Oxford, 1911), II; quoted by Miss Schröers.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 251. M. Larroumet describes the first edition (1737) of the seventh part as follows: "144 p., y compris le titre et l'approbation de Saurin, du 27 janvier 1737, au bas de la page 144" (*op. cit.*, p. 608). This probably, though not surely, did not appear in the second volume of the translation advertised in the periodicals of January, 1737, but did appear in the third volume in 1742. Note, too, that Miss Schröers seems to have confused with Richardson's own continuation of *Pamela* the spurious continuation brought out by Ward and Chandler, likewise in 1741, under the title *Pamela in High Life*, probably written by John Kelly. See Dobson, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff.

others, two versions, slightly varied, of a translation furnished with moralistic interpolations of a Richardsonian sort, and a moralistic conclusion unnoticed, so far as I know, in discussions dealing with the two well-known attempts to continue Marivaux's story in French.

The first reference I find to this second translation is on the title-page of another novel translated from the French:

Memoirs of the Countess de Bressol . . . Done from the French by the Translator of the Virtuous Orphan: Or, the Life of Marianne. London, Jacob Robinson, 1743. 2 vols. 12mo.

This translation of *Marianne* I have found in the 1784 edition (which Dunlop probably had in mind) in Harrison's "Novelists' Magazine," with the following title-page:

The Virtuous Orphan; Or, the Life of Marianne, Countess of \* \* \* . Translated from the French of Marivaux. In four volumes [in one]. London: Printed for Harrison and Co. No. 18, Paternoster Row. MDCCLXXXIV.

The volume is octavo, with 313 pages, double column. This work, which contains a long Translator's Preface, is not merely a translation with such liberties as eighteenth-century translators allowed themselves frequently; it is a translation, literal in the main, but modified to moralistic ends by means of omissions, interpolations, and a conclusion.

In 1746 appeared an altered version of this translation, possibly pirated, in one volume, small octavo, pages viii+453:

The Life and Adventures of Indiana, the Virtuous Orphan. Illustrated with Copper-Plates. London: Printed for C. Whitefield, in White-Fryers, Fleet-Street. MDCCXLVI.

For the most part, this work is identical with that reprinted by Harrison in 1784. There is, however, no translator's preface, and the title-page gives no indication that the work is a translation. Other differences are in the names of the characters: Marianne becomes Indiana, Valville becomes Valentine, M. Climal becomes Mr. Chambers, and other characters, similarly, are given English names beginning usually with the same initial letter as the French ones. More significant is the fact that this version is considerably shorter than the 1784 version; the nature of the differences will be discussed later. It is possible that at its first appearance the version



of *The Virtuous Orphan; Or, the Life of Marianne* was comparable in length to *Indiana*; while the 1784 octavo edition of four volumes in one may represent later revision and elaboration of an original version common to both. On the other hand, *Indiana* may represent a piratical abridgment of an original identical with the 1784 edition.

In 1747 appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* the notice of a second edition of *The Virtuous Orphan*. The title and the format of this edition are complicating factors. The publisher is the same as for the *Memoirs of the Countess de Bressol*, in which appeared in 1743 the reference already quoted to the *Virtuous Orphan; Or, the Life of Marianne*; the format is also the same as that of the *Memoirs*. The notice reads:

The Virtuous Orphan. Edit. 2. Robinson, in two volumes, 12mo. 6s.<sup>1</sup>

This may well be a second edition of the translation referred to in 1743, and both may have been published by Robinson, who may have brought out his second edition in 1747 to offset Whitefield's altered version of 1746, published piratically or otherwise. Whether the first edition appeared in 1743 or earlier, whether it could in any way, in print or manuscript, have influenced the author of *Pamela*, I have no way of knowing. It is conceivable, but less probable, I think, that this is a second edition of *Indiana*.

To *Indiana* I find two other references. Mr. J. M. Clapp quotes for me the following entry in Dobell's Catalogue 199 to an edition of 1755:

The Life and Misfortunes and Adventures of Indiana, the Virtuous Orphan; written by herself. 12mo.

Clara Reeve, after referring to the "poor literal translation," writes:

Soon after another attempt was made by a still worse hand, this is called *Indiana or the Virtuous Orphan*, in this piece of patch work, many of the fine reflexions, the most valuable part of the work, are omitted, the story left unfinished by the death of M. Marivaux, is finished by the same bungler, and in the most absurd manner. It puts me in mind of what was said of a certain translator of Virgil:

Read the commandments, friend,—translate no further,  
For it is written, thou shalt do no murder.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gent. Mag.*, XVII (1747), 156; see also *Scots Mag.*, IX (1747), 147.

<sup>2</sup> *Progress of Romance*, pp. 129-30.

*The Virtuous Orphan* is referred to, also, in two reviews of a later work, soon to be quoted. Both *The Virtuous Orphan* and *Indiana* are listed in Bent's General Catalogues. In the edition of 1779 appear the following entries:

Marianne, or Virtuous Orphan, 2 Vols. 12mo . . . . . 0 6 0.<sup>1</sup>  
 Virtuous Orphan, or Life of Indiana, 2 Vols. 12mo . . . . . 0 6 0.<sup>2</sup>

This refers, of course, to an edition before that of 1784 in the "Novelists' Magazine." In the edition of 1786 the following entries appear:

Marianne, or Virtuous Orphan, 3 Vols. 12mo . . . . . 0 9 0.<sup>3</sup>  
 Virtuous Orphan, or Life of Indiana, 2 Vols. 12mo . . . . . 0 6 0.<sup>4</sup>

The change here indicated in *Marianne; Or, the Virtuous Orphan* between 1779 and 1786 from two duodecimo volumes at six shillings to three duodecimo volumes at nine shillings may possibly result from typographical errors, or may result from additions to the work within those years; possibly these additions may appear in the 1784 edition before me (in 313 double-column pages octavo, four volumes bound in one). This is of a length which it would seem difficult to have compressed into either two or three duodecimo volumes, though it might possibly have been included in three.<sup>5</sup>

Another interesting difference between the two translated versions is in the matter of Marivaux's intercalated story *l'Histoire de la religieuse*. This story does not appear at all in *Indiana*; instead, the translator's conclusion follows immediately after the translation of the eighth part of Marivaux's story, the point at which the French author drops the story of Marianne. In the *Virtuous Orphan*;

<sup>1</sup> *A General Catalogue of Books in All Languages, Arts, and Sciences, Printed in Great Britain, and Published in London, from the Year MDCC to the Present Time. Classed under Several Heads of Literature, and Alphabetically Disposed under Each Head, with Their Sizes and Prices* (London, 1779), p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> *A General Catalogue of Books . . . from the Year MDCC to MDCCLXXXVI* . . . (London, 1786), p. 74.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> A rough estimate shows that the *Vie de Marianne*, in twelve parts in French, contains about 220,000 words; *Indiana* about 150,000 words; *Marianne* (in English) about 263,000 words; the *Memoirs of the Countess de Bressol*, in two volumes duodecimo, about 154,000 words. The difference in length between *Indiana* and *Marianne* appears less in the conclusion than in the translated portions; the conclusion contains about 48,000 words in the former, and about 57,000 words in the latter. The inequality may be partly explained by the fact that in *Marianne* the division into twelve books as in the French original is retained, and by the practice of beginning and concluding each book with a paragraph or more of informal comment addressed by the narrator to her friend. These divisions and comments are omitted in *Indiana*.

Or, the *Life of Marianne*, on the other hand, the nun's story is introduced, but not in its proper place at the end of the eighth book. In this version the conclusion begins at the same point as in *Indiana*, and runs through the ninth book and most of the tenth; then, toward the end of the tenth book (p. 226), "The Life of Miss de Terviere" (*de Tervire*, Marivaux spells it) is introduced, and continues through the eleventh book; at the beginning of the twelfth book (p. 275) the conclusion is resumed where it was dropped (on p. 226).

A hypothesis as to the date of the translation may be hazarded from the misplacement of this story. Possibly the first eight parts were translated, and the conclusion appended, before the last three instalments of Marivaux's work (Parts 9, 10, 11, Paris, 1741) appeared; then at some later date, when the whole work was well known and in its final state, the intercalated story was translated and introduced into the earlier translated version, at a point in the conclusion where it could be made to fit. The nun and her story are again referred to in this version at the very end. Should this hypothesis be the true explanation, the original version of the translation may well have appeared before *Pamela*, since the first eight parts were accessible to the translator by the end of the year 1737, and since nothing more appeared until 1741, when *l'Histoire de la religieuse* began in the ninth part. This explanation is by no means the only one possible, however; the nun's story may have been inserted as late as 1784, or, again, it may have been introduced in the original version, which needs only to have appeared by 1743.

Other differences between *Indiana* and *Marianne* appear in slight variations in phrasing, the changes in the latter suggesting a later attempt to revise and polish an earlier draught. How late these changes were made I have no way of determining.

The authorship of these translations I identify by means of the two book notices already referred to. In 1767 there was translated into English a continuation of the *Vie de Marianne* by Mme Riccoboni—*la suite* to which Fleury refers.<sup>1</sup> The legend is that in response to a challenge from Saint-Foix, author of *Essais sur Paris*, Mme Riccoboni undertook to prove that Marivaux's style in *Marianne* was susceptible of imitation. She made what was called at the time

<sup>1</sup> *Marivaux et le marivaudage* (Paris, 1881), pp. 192 ff.

*une suite à ce roman.* This appeared in part in a collection entitled *le Monde comme il est*, by the author of the *Nouveau Spectateur*, 4 vols., 1760-61, edited by Bastid; the second part appeared in Mme Riccoboni's works. The whole was composed ten years before its first publication, or about 1751, according to Mme Riccoboni's own statement.<sup>1</sup>

M. Fleury pointed out in 1881 that critics down to Edouard Fournier in his 1877 edition of *Marianne* have confused the anonymous twelfth part (*le fin*) of the 1745 edition with this *suite* by Mme Riccoboni. M. Fleury published them both in the appendix to his volume and pointed out the radical difference in content and style between the two. He attributed the *fin* of the twelfth part to some writer of the sixth order who had been hired by a Dutch bookseller to increase the price of the edition by giving an end to the story. "Ces supercheries étaient fréquentes au dix-huitième siècle," he says. Such a *supercherie* the English conclusion also appears to be, and the motive that inspired it may have been similarly commercial.

Announcing the translation of Mme Riccoboni's work, there appeared in 1768 in the *Monthly Review* the following notice:

The continuation of the *Life of Marianne*. To which is added the *History of Ernestina*; with letters and other Miscellaneous Pieces. Translated from the French of Mme Riccoboni, 12mo., 3s. Becket and de Hondt.

This is not the first attempt that has been made to carry on the unfinished *Life of Marianne*, written by the celebrated Marivaux; but it is a less successful one than that of an English writer; [Note: "Mr. Joseph Collyer, author of *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte*; and translator of the *Death of Abel*."] who, about twenty years ago, translated Marivaux's work, and also brought the story to a conclusion; under the title of *The Virtuous Orphan*. There was likewise another translation made about the same time; entitled *The Life of Marianne; or the Adventures of the Countess of . . .*; but in this version the story remains in the same unfinished state in which the French Author left the original.—As to Mme Riccoboni's continuation, it still leaves the tale incomplete, and is not the best of her performances.<sup>2</sup>

In 1767 in the *Gentleman's Magazine* had appeared the following confused notice:

<sup>1</sup> *Marivaux et le marivaudage* (Paris, 1881), p. 195; see also Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 465-66.

<sup>2</sup> *Monthly Rev.*, XXXVIII (1768), 72.

The first part of the life of *Marianne* was published some years ago, under the title of *La Paissanne Parvenu*<sup>1</sup> and was translated into *English* under the title of *The Virtuous Orphan*, by the author of *Some Letters from Felicia to Charlotte*, who also concluded the story. The events related by the English translator are very different from those in this continuation, in which the story is not concluded.<sup>2</sup>

The author of *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte* and the translator of the *Death of Abel* was probably not Mr. Joseph Collyer, but his wife Mary Collyer, who was also, I think, the translator of the *Memoirs of the Countess de Bressol*,<sup>3</sup> a translation which I suspect of having likewise been fitted with a conclusion foreign to the French original.

Mrs. Collyer's variations upon Marivaux's theme are worthy of note primarily for the light they throw upon the highly romantic taste of her day and upon its readiness to make use of the novel as a vehicle of didactic purpose. Her work here and elsewhere makes Richardson seem less extraordinary than does the frequent juxtaposition of his work with that of his great rival, Fielding. Mrs. Collyer's moralizing of the theme shows, too, how easily the heavy didacticism of a Richardsonian type could be engrafted upon the Gallic psychology of Marivaux.<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting interpolation in the translated part of the story occurs in the description of the person and home of the good clergyman and his sister who adopt Marianne. I will quote the accounts as given in the French original, in the English *Indiana*, and in the English *Marianne*, to illustrate in an extreme case the method of the translator. Marivaux had written of his two minor characters:

<sup>1</sup> This title marks a confusion not uncommon, according to Clara Reeve (*op. cit.*, 130), between Marivaux's other novel, *le Paysan Parvenu*, and a novel by the Chevalier de Mouhy entitled *la Paysanne Parvenue*, translated by Mrs. Haywood under the title of the *Virtuous Villager* (see Whicher, *The Life and Works of Eliza Haywood* [New York, 1915], p. 152).

<sup>2</sup> *Gent. Mag.* (1767), p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte* and its author I have discussed in "An Early Romantic Novel," in *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XV (1916), 564-98. Further facts about Mrs. Collyer and her work I hope to present soon in my forthcoming dissertation.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Macaulay, though somewhat committed to the theory of Richardson's indebtedness to Marivaux, remarks, "It is needless to say, moreover, that the rather heavy morality of Richardson has no counterpart in Marivaux's work," *op. cit.*, p. 464.

Le Curé, qui quoique Curé de Village, avoit beaucoup d'esprit, et qui étoit un homme de très-bonne famille . . . ; j'aurois été fort à plaindre, sans la tendresse que le Curé et sa sœur prirent pour moi.

Cette sœur m'éleva comme si j'avois été son enfant. Je vous ai déjà dit que son frère et elle étoient de très-bonne famille; on disoit qu'ils avoient perdu leur bien par un procès, et que lui il étoit venu se réfugier dans cette Cure où elle l'avoit suivi, car ils s'aimoient beaucoup.

Ordinairement, qui dit nièce ou sœur de Curé de Village, dit quelque chose de bien grossier, et d'approchant d'une paysanne. Mais cette fille-ci n'étoit pas de même, c'étoit une personne pleine de raison et de politesse, qui joignoit à cela beaucoup de vertu. . . .

. . . Je passai tout le temps de mon éducation dans mon bas âge, pendant lequel j'appris à faire je ne sais combien de petites nippes de femme; industrie qui m'a bien servie dans la suite.<sup>1</sup>

In *Indiana* appears the following passage amplifying this:

Mr. Robinson, for that was the name of my benefactor, was a gentleman of a good family, and formerly enjoyed an estate which was exhausted by a tedious law-suit: However his living brought him in a handsome subsistence, and he knew how to be contented without enjoying many of the superfluities of life. (a) His generosity and the agreeable gaiety of his temper, in spite of his age, in which he was pretty far advanced, made him beloved by all who knew him; and he knew how to keep up the two characters of the accomplished gentleman and the judicious divine. Mrs. Robinson, his sister, (b) was a lady of good sense, free from affectation, and though an old maid, had such a sweet disposition, such true politeness, and undissembled goodness, as abundantly recompensed the loss of those charms, which had been destroyed by the smallpox, she being extremely scared (c) by it.

There are the persons to whom I owe my education, and that virtue which has supported me under all my afflictions, and has raised me from the lowest and most miserable condition to my present station. We lived in the greatest harmony. Their affection for me knew no bounds, and I in turn, honoured and loved them as my parents. The house that we lived in was an ancient building, (d) and had for some ages past belonged to the vicars of the place; the rooms were large, (e) but the ceilings low. We had behind the house a pretty commodious garden (f) which seemed rather the product of nature than of art; there was fruit in abundance of almost (g) every kind, which grew promiscuously among the other trees that never bore any, so that they altogether formed a thick and shady grove, (h) for it was a maxim with Mr. Robinson, that nothing but what is natural can be pleasing to the subjects of nature, nor can art any further delight than as it resembles it. (i)

<sup>1</sup> *La Vie de Marianne, ou les Aventures de Madame la Comtesse de . . . par Monsieur de Marivaux* (London, 1778), I. 10-12.



Opposite the middle door of the house was a long shady walk which extended itself to the bottom of a piece of pasture ground behind the garden, and at the foot of several of the trees were raised seats of earth covered with camomile. When fatigued with severe study, Mr. Robinson took delight with working here, and acting the part of a laborious gardner; an employment he chose to preserve his health and recreate his mind. He committed the management of his kitchen garden and vineyard to a poor laborer in the neighborhood, whom he had released from prison, by paying a debt for him, and who besides he rewarded for his labour.

This good man began every day with paying (j) his duty to God in prayer; after breakfast the sister and I worked with our needles, played upon a harpsicord, (k) or amused ourselves with reading; and in the afternoon we walked in the garden to see Mr. Robinson work, and be entertained with his conversation, and in the evening he (l) acted the part of an arbitrator of the differences of his quarrelsome neighbors, which he was frequently so happy as to adjust to the satisfaction of all parties concerned; and after supper concluded the day with prayer as he began it.

This worthy gentleman began early to show his zeal for my happiness, by establishing in my mind the nicest sentiments of virtue and honour. He represented religion in a light that made it appear all amiable and lovely, and as the highest happiness of a rational being: He painted the substantial pleasures of conscious innocence, the exquisit happiness of the mind that can survey itself with tranquillity and self-approbation, in such pleasing colours, as perfectly charmed me. (m)

Mrs. Robinson was not behind hand with her brother in her care of my education. She taught me everything necessary for a young woman to learn. . . . A country vicar's niece or sister is commonly an awkward, untoward, unbred, country-like woman; but Mrs. Robinson was perfectly the reverse; she was polite and virtuous; her behaviour was free and easy; in short, she had good sense, good breeding, and abundance of virtue.<sup>1</sup>

The thread of the narrative is then resumed in a literal translation.

The *Virtuous Orphan* differs from *Indiana*, at the points marked in the foregoing quotations, as follows:

- (a) Inserted: "Pride and ostentation he was utter stranger to."
- (b) Omitted: "his sister."
- (c) "Seamed" for "scared" (i.e., scarred).
- (d) Altered: "one of the most antique buildings I ever saw."
- (e) Altered: "the rooms were spacious and numerous."
- (f) Inserted: "a beautiful sylvan scene."
- (g) Inserted: "almost."
- (h) A long insertion appears here: "The vine supported his feeble branches by encircling the oak, and the flowers seemed scattered with a

<sup>1</sup> *Indiana*, pp. 7-9.

careless hand over the verdant turf; those whose tender stalks were liable to be broke down by unfriendly feet, crept in clusters round the trunks of the trees; while the woodbine and jessamine were made to rise above, and twine amongst the branches; there the trees were never pruned but in order to make them fruitful, or to let in the prospect of the fine meadows, or the far distant hills; which, seeming to mingle with the clouds, formed a delightful horizon. We had no answering platforms, no cut-walks, nor anything like that studied affectation of regularity which disgusts the eye by a repetition of uniformity, and a constant sameness of design."<sup>1</sup>

(i) Another insertion of similar import: "The agreeable intermixture of opening and shade was contrived with such exquisit art, as not only to appear natural, but to let in or exclude the prospect of the adjacent country to the advantage of the whole scene."<sup>2</sup>

(j) Altered: "paying a grateful homage to the supreme being."

(k) Altered: "spinnet" for "harpsicord."

(l) Inserted: "this pattern of benevolence" for "he."

(m) Here is a continuation, over a column in length, of the clergyman's religious exhortations, in the same vein as what precedes.

In this version the clergyman and his sister, unnamed by Marivaux, named Mr. and Mrs. Robinson in *Indiana*, are called Mr. and Mrs. De Rosard.

This passage illustrates, as I have said, in an extreme way, the alteration of Marivaux's original in the Collyer translation, and the variations resulting either from elaboration or abridgment between the two English versions. The details belonging to an essentially English vicarage inserted into the French context are as amusingly incongruous as much of the solid Anglo-Saxon moralizing and the artless conclusion. The discussion of gardening, and the preference for nature over art, are quite in keeping with other utterances of Mrs. Collyer in *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte* (1744-49). Aside from the interpolations, the translation follows with fair accuracy the original, many more omissions occurring, of course, in *Indiana* than in the longer version.

In speaking of the two French attempts to carry on Marivaux's story, M. Fleury praises Mme Riccoboni's continuation because she appears "fidèle au procédé constant de Marivaux de placer le drame dans le cœur humain et de ne faire intervenir les causes extérieures que pour créer les situations et jamais pour les dénouer."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Virtuous Orphan* (London, 1784), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

On the other hand, he condemns the French conclusion, which was published in 1745 as the *douzième partie*, because the anonymous author "a recouru pour ramener Valville à Marianne à des causes extrinsèques que non seulement Marivaux n'aurait pas avouées, mais qui l'auraient profondément choqué."<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Collyer's conclusion is subject to much the same criticism as is the *douzième partie* of the French edition. External events, for the most part, are responsible for the reconciliation and happy dénouement.

Through an accident the mother of the hero [Mme Miran in Marivaux's original, Mrs. de Valville in the English *Marianne*, Mrs. Valentine in *Indiana*] gets possession of a letter to her son explaining that the commission he was seeking was lost through deliberate negligence on his part, negligence due to his affair with Miss Varthon [Miss Wharton in *Indiana*]. The mother's affection for the heroine is increased by this evidence of her son's unworthiness. Her anxiety, however, seriously affects her health. The heroine tells of the Officer's proposal, and together they decide that she cannot accept it. The mother becomes dangerously ill, and the heroine goes with her to her country place. Valville [Valentine] hearing of his mother's illness, arrives unexpectedly. Marianne [Indiana] faints, and the prodigal hero's love returns to her on the instant, just as it had left her previously on the occasion of Miss Varthon's [Miss Wharton's] fainting. The heroine's recovery from the resulting illness is hastened by a complete reconciliation. The mother dies, and the heroine returns to a convent for a proper period of mourning. Knowing that the girl has inherited a fortune from her friend, a mercenary abbess plots to separate her from those interested in her and to persuade her to take the veil. This plot frustrated, the heroine goes to stay with Mrs. Dorsin [Mrs. Dawson] until her marriage to the hero. While she is there the discovery of her parentage is made; the devoted officer proves to be her uncle, and she the heiress to a title and a fortune. Behaving with marked generosity to her new-found family, she accepts only a portion of her estate, is presented at court, is married, and when last heard of is devoting herself to the education of a growing family in the love of virtue and noble sentiments.

Obviously the intercepted letter, the fatal illness of the mother, the heroine's fainting, the final identification of her parentage, all these items fall under condemnation as *causes extérieures*. The material is of distinct interest to students of English literature,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200. M. Fleury summarizes the conclusion in the *douzième partie*, and Mme Riccoboni's continuation, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-98; the latter he also reprints in full in an appendix, pp. 372-408.

however, for the romantic quality of the feeling, philosophy, and incident introduced.

### III

As illustrative of a typically British attitude toward Marivaux's novel, and of the sort of interpretation it received in translated form, I wish to quote a few passages from the Translator's Preface to the 1784 edition of *The Virtuous Orphan; Or, the Life of Marianne*, an interesting critical document to be compared, as evidence of general tendencies of the period, with the prefaces to Richardson's works. I cannot tell whether this preface appeared in earlier editions of the translation or whether it is a late addition. In it the translator of Marivaux appears to utter sentiments obviously similar to those of "the author of *Clarissa*." It begins:

The reading of that part of history that relates to human life and manners has always been considered by allowed judges as one of the best means of instructing and improving the mind. When we see the heart laid open, and the secret springs and movements that actuate it exposed, and set in one impartial light, with their different good and evil tendencies, we are enabled to form a true estimate of human nature, and are taught what ought or ought not to be our conduct in every similar instance.

Compare with this Richardson's statement in the preface of *Clarissa* that it is a "History of life and manners . . . proposed to carry the force of an example," and his description of the novel on the title-page as a history "comprehending the most important concerns of private life; and particularly showing the distresses that may attend the misconduct both of parents and children in relation to marriage." Likewise compare with what follows in the quotation from the Translator's Preface Richardson's statement in the Postscript to *Clarissa* to the effect that if in a depraved age, devoid of both private and public virtues, "if in an age given up to diversion and entertainment, he could *steal in*, as may be said, and investigate the great doctrines of Christianity under the fashionable guise of an amusement," the author would be throwing in "his mite toward introducing a reformation so much wanted."

The Translator's Preface continues:

But the instruction, I think, is not carried to its proper extent: the scene of action is generally laid in exalted and public life; among deep politicians and martial heroes. . . .

But when history is reduced to our own level, and applicable to our real circumstances in life, much extensive and lasting benefit may accrue from the perusal of it; for, in the right discharge of the common duties of humanity, and in a proper conduct, either in affluent or in embarrassed or difficult circumstances, every one has an immediate and important concern; in the frailties too, and little foibles of our nature, we are all pretty equal sharers. An example, therefore, given to these purposes, that describes every different disposition of the mind, according to the variety of its situations, and the actions naturally flowing from these dispositions; and all guarded, too, with just encomiums on the side of virtue, and severe censures and remonstrances against vice; cannot fail, I think of making a strong impression on the mind of every person not wholly lost to all sense of moral excellence, and producing some of the genuine fruits of it in his conduct.

Besides histories of this kind are generally made publick by way of entertainment; and, under that notion, even a libertine may be induced to read them with eagerness and delight; and, it is highly probable that if he goes through them with attention, and is not past all reflection and serious thought, some instance, or applicable circumstance may strike him, and tend greatly to his reformation. And what an entertainment, indeed, will they be to a sober and judicious reader, when he finds religion and virtue painted in most lovely colours, and set in every attractive light.

This last sentence is so similar in diction and sentiment to the religious discussions both in this translation<sup>1</sup> and in *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte*, as to suggest the probability that this Preface was written either by Mrs. Collyer or by her husband, who outlived her. Equally like Mrs. Collyer's utterances elsewhere is the paragraph on educational ideals, which follows. These discussions in the Preface make very clear the translator's personal interests and her moral intention, which appear in the interpolations and in the conclusions she supplies for Marivaux's more objective original:

The advantage, too, that these entertaining pictures of human nature may be of to youth, is very considerable. Those who have been concerned in the important business of education, must know that the love of pleasure is the most easy inlet to young minds: everything that presents itself through this channel is sure to gain a ready access; close and abstract reasoning are above their capacity; grave and serious discourses may sometimes fail of the intended effect; for (not to insist on the aversion common in young people to everything gloomy and solemn, and that is imposed as a task) it requires great exercise of thought and reflection to attend to the thread of a discourse, and conceive immediately every idea the writer or speaker would express.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 171.

But lively examples and plain matters of fact, are easily comprehended; and, the moment their understandings are informed, the affections are excited; which being free from all false biasses, are properly and exactly suited to each particular incident as it occurs to them; and thus if due care is taken to fix the application deeply in their minds, a love of virtue and an abhorrence of vice, is insensibly instilled into them, and the impressions may last for ever.

It must be acknowledged then, that a history in familiar and common life is in point of real usefulness preferable to any other; since the benefits arising from it are universal, and extend to all stations and circumstances; for even the statemen and general (in which two peculiar views mankind are commonly represented in history) cannot be said to form a complete character, without attending to the offices and duties of private life; and it is this last branch of conduct (when this history is related) that can be of real advantage to the generality, and point out anything to them capable of their imitation.

The history before us deserves to be considered as a useful piece of instruction; a lesson of nature; a true and lively picture of the human heart. . . .

As to this translation, I have not much to offer. When I read the original, I thought it would admit of an English dress, that might do justice to the fine spirit that reigns throughout: with this view, and to give my female readers especially a piece worthy of their attention, entire, and in some measure perfect, I immediately set about it. How I have succeeded in my attempt, the publick must determine; and the encouragement it meets with will sufficiently declare their sentiments.

Reference in the last paragraph is apparently to the interpolations and conclusion supplied, which may be conceived of as making for the production of the piece "entire, and in some measure perfect." A less candid justification of these additions appears in a footnote early in the first part:

The Paris edition, and that of the Hague of 1735, have omitted this, and several of the foregoing particulars, but for what reason we cannot imagine.<sup>1</sup>

This note may not be the work of the translator herself; in the Preface *I*, not *we*, is used. The date 1735 is of course incorrect; the edition was 1745. This dates the composition of the note as after that year, but not necessarily the rest of the work. I suspect the note of being an addition of much later date by a wary and sophisticated publisher.

<sup>1</sup> *The Virtuous Orphan* (London, 1784), p. 14.



Certain artistic and moralistic attitudes common to this Preface to the Collyer translation of *Marianne* and to some of Richardson's critical statements enforce a point which, while not new, has not, I think, been sufficiently stressed; namely, that to prove specific indebtedness on Richardson's part to the reading of Marivaux's *Marianne* is after all less significant and less possible, perhaps, than to prove that Richardson and Marivaux held similar positions in relation to literary predecessors of similar sort; that both illustrate fictional tendencies growing out of literature of other *genres* immediately preceding them, so that like results, not only in their novels, but in the works of their contemporaries, may spring from like causes of earlier date in England and in France, and not from the influence of a particular Frenchman upon his English contemporary. As indicative, then, of certain widespread influences and tendencies at work in the fiction of the Richardsonian period, the following points may be noted:

1. The Translator's Preface to the Collyer version seems to suggest the relation of *Marianne* to that drama to which I feel Richardson's work is certainly related, that is, to *Domestic Tragedy* and *Sentimental Comedy*,<sup>1</sup> to what Mr. Bernbaum has termed the *Drama of Sensibility*, which immediately preceded both Richardson and Marivaux. This drama Richardson quotes and cites repeatedly in *Pamela* and *Clarissa*<sup>2</sup> and to this drama, in France, Marivaux contributed.<sup>3</sup> This common background, out of which may have emerged similar effects with nothing more than a subconscious connection, I think has not been sufficiently considered. For instance, in the prologue to Rowe's *Fair Penitent* (1705), a domestic tragedy, avowedly admired by Richardson, which perhaps in the character of Lothario provided the prototype for Lovelace, appear the following lines, similar in thought and feeling to the second and third paragraphs just quoted from the Translator's Preface to *Marianne*, and to statements by Richardson quoted later:

<sup>1</sup> The choice of the name *Indiana* seems an echo of Steele's *Conscious Lovers*, in which the heroine of that name is also a child of mystery, identified at the end, and reunited to her family.

<sup>2</sup> On Richardson's relation to Rowe, especially to his *Fair Penitent*, see H. G. Ward, "Richardson's Character of Lovelace," in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, VII (1912), 494-98.

<sup>3</sup> On Marivaux and the sentimental drama see E. Bernbaum, *The Drama of Sensibility* (Boston and London, 1915), pp. 188 ff.

Long has the fate of kings and empires been  
 The common business of the tragic scene,  
 As if misfortune made the throne her seat,  
 And none could be unhappy but the great.

Stories like these with wonder we may hear,  
 But far remote and in a higher sphere,  
 We ne'er can pity what we ne'er can share.

Therefore an humbler theme our author chose,  
 A melancholy tale of private woes:

Who writes shou'd still let nature be his care,  
 Mix shades with lights, and not paint all things fair,  
 But shew you men and women as they are.

Moreover, just as Richardson and Marivaux may both be shown to be influenced by the *Drama of Sensibility*, just so a common indebtedness may be proved to the periodical essays, particularly to the *Spectator*. Marivaux's debt to the *Spectator* has been clearly set forth in Mr. Baldwin's study, "Marivaux's Place in Character Portrayal."<sup>1</sup> Richardson's familiarity with the *Spectator*, as well as with the *Tatler* and *Guardian* and with other works of Addison and Steele, is indicated by the quotations from his correspondence and from *Pamela* and *Clarissa* collected in Dr. Erich Peotzsche's dissertation.<sup>2</sup> This common influence Mr. Gosse suggests when he says:

The direct link between Addison as a picturesque narrative essayist and Richardson as the first great English novelist is to be found in Pierre de Marivaux (1688-1763), who imitated the *Spectator*, and who is often assumed, though somewhat too rashly, to have suggested the tone of *Pamela*.<sup>3</sup>

2. The passages quoted from the Translator's Preface to *Marianne* may be compared in their statement of the author's purpose with a temporary preface to one of Richardson's works—the Preface reprinted by Mr. Macaulay<sup>4</sup> from the beginning of the fourth volume of the first edition of *Clarissa* (1748), omitted from subsequent editions.

<sup>1</sup> *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXVII (1912), 168-87.

<sup>2</sup> *Samuel Richardsons Belesenheit* (Kiel, 1908), pp. 6, 46-47.

<sup>3</sup> *A History of Eighteenth Century Literature* (London, 1896), p. 243. (Quoted by Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 168, note.)

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 465-66.

This Preface is admittedly not by Richardson, but by "a very learned and eminent hand"; therefore I think it hardly deserves the credence Mr. Macaulay accorded it as "a definite statement made on Richardson's own authority that in the writing of *Pamela* he had been following the lead of those French writers who had at length hit upon the true secret" of making fiction improve as well as entertain. I do not believe that in this preface Richardson himself necessarily "acknowledges obligation to the way of writing in which some of the late French writers had greatly excelled," or that he ascribes not to himself but to the French "the discovery of the true secret of fiction."<sup>1</sup> Richardson, I believe, sincerely felt what he expressed in the much quoted letter to Aaron Hill:

I thought the story if written in an easy and natural manner, suitable to the simplicity of it, might possibly introduce a new species of writing, that might possibly turn young people into a course of reading different from the pomp and parade of romance-writing, and dismissing the improbable and marvellous, with which novels generally abound, might tend to promote the cause of religion and virtue.<sup>2</sup>

But I believe that the more learned and cosmopolitan writer of his temporary preface interpreted in the light of his own wider reading the intention of the provincially minded author, while expressing views not at all unusual to his time. That this Preface was later omitted, that the comparison to French fiction was not incorporated in Richardson's own Preface or Postscript, that his correspondence (so far as it has been published) makes no reference, appreciative or hostile, to this Preface or to the ideas expressed in it, seems to me to indicate that Richardson did not necessarily value highly nor, indeed, suggest or authorize the sentiments involved.

For its similarities at certain points to the Preface to the Collyer translation of *Marianne*—both of them signs of one time, I repeat—this temporary preface is of interest to my purpose. For in this anonymous Preface to *Clarissa*, in Richardson's letter about *Pamela* to Aaron Hill, and in the Translator's Preface to *Marianne*, appear the same desire to purvey instruction in the guise of entertainment, the same emphasis on the portrayal of life and manners by reducing

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 467.

<sup>2</sup> Dobson, *op. cit.*, p. 26. Compare this with the quotation from the Translator's Preface.

history to the level of the readers. The temporary preface to *Clarissa* reads:

If it may be thought reasonable to criticize the Public Taste, in what are generally supposed to be Works of mere Amusement; or modest to direct its judgment, in what is offered for its Entertainment; I would beg leave to introduce the following Sheets with a few cursory Remarks, that may lead the common Reader into some tolerable conception of the nature of this work, and the design of its Author.

It traces the corruption of public taste and moral standards through the stories of enchantment, the stories of intrigue, and finally through the heroical romances of the French. Then it goes on to say:

At length this great People . . . hit upon the true secret, by which alone a deviation from strict fact, in the commerce of Man, could be really entertaining to an improved mind, or useful to promote that Improvement. And this was by a faithful and chaste copy of real *Life* and *Manners*: In which some of their late Writers have greatly excelled.

It was on this sensible plan, that the Author of the following Sheets attempted to please. . . .

. . . . He apprehends that, in the study of Human Nature, the knowledge of those apprehensions leads us farther into the recesses of the Human Mind, than the colder and more general reflections suited to a continued and more contracted Narrative.

This is the nature and purport of his Attempt. Which, perhaps may not be so well or generally understood. For if the Reader seeks here Strange Tales, Love Stories, Heroical Adventures, or, in short, for anything but a *Faithful Picture of Nature in Private Life*, he had better be told before hand the likelihood of his being disappointed. But if he can find Use or Entertainment; either *Directions for his Conduct* or *Employment for his Piety*, in a HISTORY of LIFE and MANNERS, where, as in the world itself, we find Vice, for a time, triumphant, and Virtue in distress, an idle hour or two, we hope, may not be unprofitably lost."<sup>1</sup>

Compare with this final paragraph the concluding paragraphs of the Translator's Preface to *Marianne*, and the prologue to Rowe's *The Fair Penitent*, just quoted.

The Translator's Preface to *The Virtuous Orphan; Or, the Life of Marianne* appears to me, then, an interesting piece of literary criticism of the Richardsonian period, indicating a current popular view of Marivaux's novel, and revealing, as do Richardson's prefaces (both those of his own writing and the temporary one just quoted)

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay, *op. cit.*, pp. 465-66.

a well-developed attitude toward fiction of that period, an attitude of which *Pamela* and *Clarissa* were perhaps the full expressions and not the initial inspiration. These documents indicate the deliberate acceptance of the novel as a moral, democratic force, setting forth the popular philosophy of the day—a strange compound of Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hume, devoted to the doctrine of the rewards of innate virtue and the harmony of a divinely created universe.<sup>1</sup>

For the student of English fiction, then, what are the conclusions to be drawn from the known facts about the translations of *Marianne*?

1. That before the publication of *Clarissa* at least three translated versions of *Marianne* were at hand. Of the first one (which appeared in parts in 1736, 1737, 1742) the first two volumes, available before the publication of *Pamela*, probably contained only the first six parts of the story. That this translation continued on sale long after the appearance of the second translation is evidenced by its advertisement among "Books Sold by C. Davis. Octavo. Duodecimo," in the back of Lockman's translation of Marivaux's *Pharsamond* in 1750. The second translation—which I believe to be the work of Mary Collyer—probably appeared first at some time between 1737 and 1743 under the title *The Virtuous Orphan; Or, the Life of Marianne*; and in 1746 under the title *The Life and Adventures of Indiana, the Virtuous Orphan*. Both titles reappear in the later editions, as attested by Bent: the former reappeared in a reprint in Harrison's "Novelists' Magazine" in 1784; the latter was known to Clara Reeve and was described by her in 1785. *The Virtuous Orphan* is vaguely referred to in the periodicals of 1767 and 1768. Apparently, therefore, quite apart from the wide reading it had in French among the more cosmopolitan of the English reading-public, Marivaux's

<sup>1</sup> Miss Schröers points out (*op. cit.*, p. 252) that Marivaux was not without some moralistic intention: "Richardson mit seinem strengen, puritanischen ansichten liess deutlicher als Marivaux die moralische seite seines werkes hervortreten. Aber jene kritiker haben unrecht, die beweisen wollen, das Marivaux in *Marianne* absolut nicht an einen moralischen zweck dachte. Er drückt sich in klaren worten über seine absichten aus: 'Si vous (les lecteurs) regardez *La Vie de Marianne* comme un Roman . . . votre critique est juste; il y a trop de réflexions, et ce n'est pas là la forme ordinaire des Romans, ou des Histoires faites simplement pour divertir. Mais *Marianne* n'a point songé à faire un Roman non plus' [*La Vie de Marianne* par Marivaux. Avertissement, 2nde partie, tome I]."

novel must have had an extensive vogue in translated form, since no canny publisher of any time would risk the duplication of current translations unless the demand very obviously justified such an augmentation of the supply.

2. It seems legitimate to argue, quite apart from the question of Richardson's indebtedness to his reading of *Marianne*, that though the germinal idea of *Pamela* originated at an early date in a veritable situation, yet the method of treating it might have been influenced, perhaps even unconsciously to the author, by the current interest in bourgeois psychology which was stimulated by the wide reading of *Marianne*.<sup>1</sup> In similar fashion, Richardson's use of the epistolary method was doubtless the result of the current interest in letter-writing in various forms and the popularity of previous experiments for purposes of fiction by Mrs. Behn, Mrs. Manley, Mrs. Haywood, and others. That Richardson should have felt the backwash from literary currents which he himself had not directly perceived is not incredible. Just as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is not the first but the greatest of a long line of allegories, French and English, several of which resemble it in essential particulars, but to none of which specific indebtedness has been proved, so Richardson's "new species of writing" may well have been the spontaneous result of antecedent conditions unaffected by conscious borrowing or imitation.

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<sup>1</sup> As indication of the effect upon even minor fiction of the tone and method of *Marianne* I quote a paragraph from a review of *The History of Cornelia*, a novel attributed to Mrs. Sarah Scott:

"The author of *Cornelia* has distinguished his attempt to gratify the taste of mankind for works of imagination, from most authors, by the graver turn of his performance. In this, as well as several of the incidents he affects an imitation of *Marianne*; but has unfortunately carried his seriousness too far. For the history of *Marianne*, tho' grave, is not stiff; and tho' serious, not formal, but an agreeable vein of freedom and good humor runs through the whole, and sets it at an equal distance from what is loose and trifling on the one hand and dull and pedantic on the other" (*Mon. Rev.*, III [May, 1750], 59)



